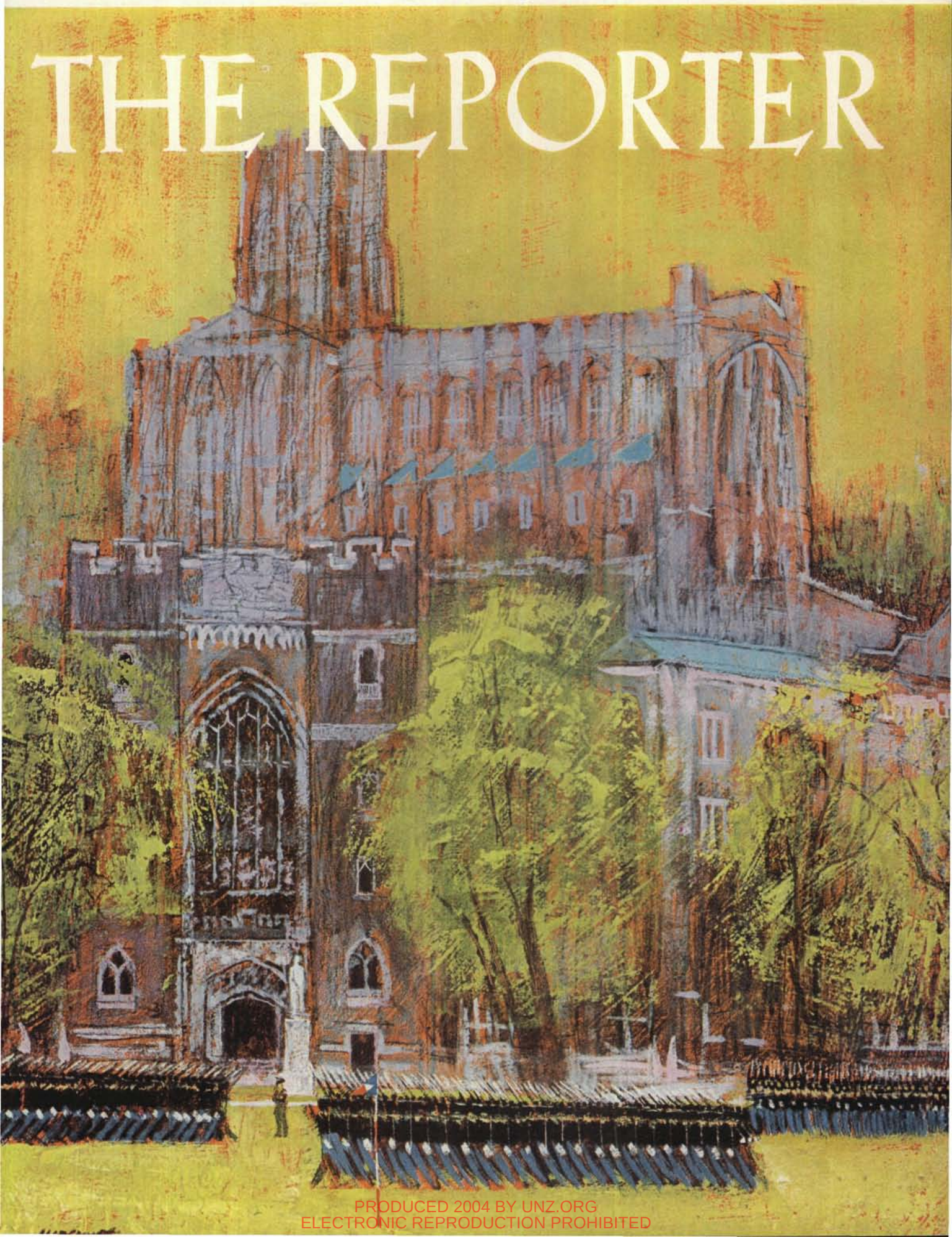
NATO's Nuclear Dilemma

March 28, 1963 35¢

New Drugs: Is Government Supervision Adequate?

THE REPORTER



PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

INNOVATOR

Idea man. A man who knows it pays to think. He's a General Motors employe who works at his job, thinks at his job. He never stops looking for ways to help make it safer and for ways to improve products and processes.

Last year General Motors awarded over $6,750,000 under the GM Employe Suggestion Plan to people like him for more than 188,000 on-the-job suggestions. Since 1942 GM has adopted more than a million employe suggestions and has happily paid out more than $48,000,000 in suggestion awards.

At GM, you'll find the idea man in office and plant. Alert, interested, aggressive . . . he doesn't wait for "George" to suggest it, *he suggests it himself*. He is constantly seeking "ways to make it better . . . better ways to make it." GM moves ahead because of people like the idea man, the innovator.

GENERAL MOTORS IS PEOPLE . . .

Making Better Things For You

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flying is an art, you know.

IT'S ALSO A PLEASURE ABOARD ALITALIA NON-STOP JETS TO LONDON.

Why take an Italian airline to the British capital? For the art of it. The Alitalia art of heightening your pleasure every mile of the way. It's not just superb. There's a wonderful finesse about it that's distinctly Italian. The leisurely cocktail, the delectable food, the way you're served. It's all done with a manner which takes centuries to cultivate, only minutes to appreciate. There are quite a few things your Travel Agent can do that you'll appreciate, too. For instance, he'll tell you about all the stopovers Alitalia includes on certain routes. If you've a round-trip ticket to Rome, you can jet to London free, and 23 other cities besides! Remarkable? Alitalia just likes doing remarkable things. Choose an Alitalia Super DC-8 flight to Europe from New York, Boston, Chicago or Montreal. See how artful flying can be.

Service to 80 cities in 50 nations on all 6 continents.

ALITALIA AIRLINES

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EARN
4.8%
CURRENT ANNUAL RATE
ON YOUR SAVINGS
Compounded or paid quarterly plus daily earnings

Earnings on accounts are compounded or paid quarterly...funds received or postmarked by the 10th of any month earn from the 1st, and after the 10th, from date of receipt to end of the quarter. In addition, all funds remaining for 6 months or more earn to the date of withdrawal.

Safety of your account, personal or group, is insured up to $10,000 by an agency of the U.S. Gov't.

Saving by mail is fast and easy with free two-way air postage on all accounts assuring prompt and personal attention.

CHOOSE ONE OF THESE
FREE
BOOKS
No obligation
...Just Mail Coupon Today

METROPOLITAN SAVINGS
and Loan Association
808 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 17, Calif.

Circle number of book you want 1 2 3

☐ Airmail information

☐ Open my account. $_____enclosed

Check:
Personal Account ☐ Organization Account ☐

Name_____

Address_____

City_____Zone____

State_____

THE REPORTER
THE MAGAZINE OF FACTS AND IDEAS

MAX ASCOLI, *Editor and Publisher*

Executive Editor, Philip Horton *Managing Editor*, Robert Bingham
Senior Editor, Gouverneur Paulding *Washington Editor*, Douglass Cater
Assistant Managing Editor, Derek Morgan *Copy Editor*, Donald A. Allan
Art Director, Reg Massie
Writers: Claire Sterling, Marya Mannes, Edmond Taylor, Meg Greenfield, George Bailey, Ward S. Just
Staff: Elizabeth Parsons (*Asst. to the Editor*), Louisa Messolonghites (*Asst. to Mng. Ed.*), Ruth Ames (*Librarian*), John A. Anderson Jr., Barbara Carter, Lee Culpepper, Nora Magid

General Manager, John J. Borghi
Circulation Manager, George Hinckley *Director of Advertising*, E. Laurence White, Jr.
Director of Promotion, Shirley Katzander *Production Manager*, Ann Hollyday Sharp
Controller, Anthony E. Lanza
Published by The Reporter Magazine Company, Nathan W. Levin, President

VOLUME 28, NO. 7 **MARCH 28, 1963**

THE REPORTER'S NOTES 14

NATO'S Nuclear Dilemma . . . . . *Henry A. Kissinger* 22

I. THE U.S. STRATEGY
II. SECOND THOUGHTS ON FLEXIBLE RESPONSE
III. THE CASE FOR NATIONAL NUCLEAR FORCES
IV. PROPOSED UNITED STATES REMEDIES: THE CREATION OF A MULTILATERAL FORCE
V. WHERE WE GO FROM HERE

At Home & Abroad

A RETURN TO THE FRONTIER . . . . . *Eileen Chang* 38
'CHICAGO AIN'T READY FOR REFORM' . . . . . *Hal Bruno* 41
ASPECTS OF ZANZIBAR (SKETCHES) . . . . . *Angela Conner* 44
NEW DRUGS: IS GOVERNMENT SUPERVISION ADEQUATE? . . . . . *Morton Mintz* 46

Views & Reviews

THE LAST 'FRENCH' COMPOSER? . . . . . *Roland Gelatt* 52
THE AERIALISTS (VERSE) . . . . . *Nancy Price* 56
Books:
A TOUCHING TALE OF LOST ILLUSIONS . . . . . *John P. Roche* 58
A CITY UPON A HILL . . . . . *John William Ward* 61
A LAND BEYOND HELP? . . . . . *Denis Warner* 62
ONE MAN'S TREASURES . . . . . *Sarel Eimerl* 64
THE REPORTER PUZZLE 55

THE REPORTER, March 28, 1963, Volume 28, No. 7. Second-class postage paid at New York, New York, and at Dayton, Ohio. Published every other Thursday except for omission of two summer issues by The Reporter Magazine Company, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y. © 1963 by The Reporter Magazine Company All rights reserved under Pan-American Copyright Convention. Subscription prices, United States and U. S. Possessions: One year $7, Two years $11, Three years $14. Additional postage for Canada and Pan-American Union, $.50 per year; all other countries, $1.00 per year. Please give four weeks' notice when changing address giving old and new address. **Send notice of undelivered copies on Form 3579 to: The Reporter, McCall St., Dayton 1, Ohio.** Indexed in *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Manuscripts or artwork submitted to The Reporter should be accompanied by addressed envelope and return postage. The publisher assumes no responsibility for the return of unsolicited manuscripts or artwork.

Editorial and Business Office: 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.; Phone: TEmpleton 2-8800. Washington Office: 1107 - National Press Bldg., 14th and F Sts., N.W., Washington 4, D.C.; District 7-0045.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Do you know about this unique plan
to increase your understanding and enjoyment of music?

Music-Appreciation Albums

You receive outstanding 12-inch recordings of great music performed by noted artists and orchestras...

AND

With them at no extra cost — in place of the usual printed program notes — you receive "musical program notes" on 10-inch records. These are always absorbing commentaries, illustrated with musical passages by a full orchestra, to heighten your understanding of the music you hear on the performance records.

AS A DEMONSTRATION... FOR ONLY $1.00...

CHOOSE ONE OF THESE DOUBLE-DISC ALBUMS

(If you agree to buy as few as 3 additional Albums during the year)

Dvořák's **NEW WORLD SYMPHONY**
Leopold Ludwig
conducting the London Symphony Orchestra

Tchaikovsky's **FIFTH SYMPHONY**
Sir Malcolm Sargent
conducting the London Symphony Orchestra

Stravinsky's **FIREBIRD SUITE** *Schumann's* **FOURTH SYMPHONY**
George Szell conducting
(a dual selection on one record)

Berlioz' **SYMPHONIE FANTASTIQUE**
Sir Eugene Goossens
conducting the London Symphony Orchestra

Beethoven's **FIFTH SYMPHONY**
Sir Adrian Boult
conducting the Philharmonic Promenade Orchestra of London

Brahms' **THIRD SYMPHONY**
Leopold Stokowski
conducting the Houston Symphony Orchestra

EVEN by themselves, the superb recordings offered by MUSIC APPRECIATION ALBUMS would be outstanding acquisitions in any musical home. But accompanied by their enlightening "musical program notes", narrated and recorded by the noted conductor, Thomas Scherman, they become uniquely gratifying additions to your library of recordings. This is a proven and sensible plan that has enriched musical enjoyment in many thousands of families.

As an introduction to Music-Appreciation Albums you may choose any one of the outstanding works described above for only $1.00 if you agree to accept at least three additional selections during the next twelve months at the regular members' prices of $5.98 for stereo and $4.98 for regular L.P.

Each month a new Music-Appreciation Album is made available to you as a subscriber. This selection is always preceded by an announcement describing the work and written by a noted musical authority such as Deems Taylor. You take only those records you are sure you want for your permanent collection. Mail the coupon today and start your family on a wonderful adventure in musical self-education.

MUSIC-APPRECIATION RECORD CLUB, INC.
11 PARK PLACE, NEW YORK 7, N. Y. M503-363

Please send me at once the 12-inch Performance Record I have indicated below, together with its 10-inch "Musical Program Notes" Record, billing me $1.00 for both (plus small mailing charge), and enroll me in the Music-Appreciation Record Club. I agree to purchase at least three additional Club selections during the next twelve months at the regular members' prices of $5.98 for stereo and $4.98 for regular L.P. I may cancel my membership at any time thereafter.

Indicate by title the Music-Appreciation Album wanted:

Please check box to indicate whether you wish stereophonic or regular L.P. performance records.

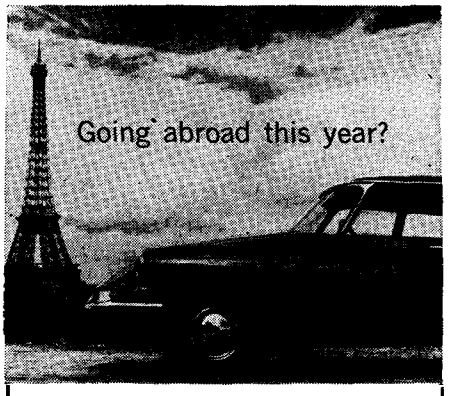
☐ stereo ☐ regular L.P.

MR. / MRS. / MISS .....
Please print plainly

Address.....

City.....*Postal Zone*.....*State*.....
(If any)

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



A CAR IS A MUST IN EUROPE!

CITROËN

Citroen is your best choice, with a car and a plan for every budget. You can purchase your Citroen for delivery abroad while in the United States.
Cars available: the DS and ID19, 5 passenger Sedans, 8-9 passenger Station Wagon, the Custom Convertible, the new AMI-6, the economy 4 passenger Sedan, and the 4 door, 4 seater 2 CV.

Write for FREE Overseas Delivery Brochure.

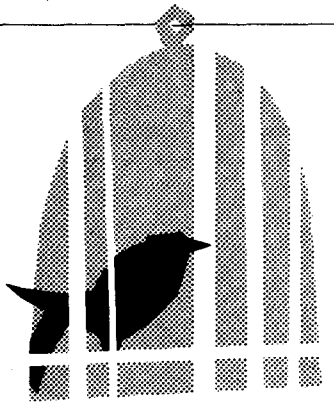
CITROEN CARS CORPORATION, Dept. RE-38
In New York, N.Y. at: 300 PARK AVENUE, N.Y.22
In Beverly Hills, Calif. at: 8423 WILSHIRE BLVD.

MY NAME IS .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY .....ZONE .....STATE .....

"Life's true meaning
in the pokey . . ."— *Life*
"Funny."— *The New Yorker*
"Wry, symbolistic,
deadpan."— *Newsweek*



THE PRISON LIFE OF HARRIS FILMORE
a novel by
JACK RICHARDSON
author of *The Prodigal*,
Gallows Humor, Lorenzo $3.95

NEW YORK GRAPHIC SOCIETY
Greenwich, Connecticut

WHO— WHAT— WHY—

IT IS UNUSUAL for this magazine to devote fourteen pages to a single article. But the subject of **Henry A. Kissinger's** essay, "NATO's Nuclear Dilemma," is one of unusual gravity and complexity. We have never believed in the homogenization and condensation of such crucial problems, and we pay our readers the compliment of assuming that they feel the same way.

Among the conclusions to be drawn from Mr. Kissinger's careful analysis, we would call particular attention to his assertion that there is actually much merit in the Kennedy administration's attempt to move away from the doctrine of massive retaliation by subjecting the dreadful weapons of our age to the maximum political (i.e., civilian) control; but even the soundest policy becomes unsound if it is pursued so relentlessly as to become self-defeating. We also want to stress the fact that it is not too late to repair whatever damage has been done to the Alliance by mismanagement. As Mr. Kissinger says, ". . . the remedies are still within our own control." Mr. Kissinger is a professor at Harvard's Center for International Affairs and the author of two books that have had a profound effect on strategic and political thinking in all parts of the world: *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy* and the *Necessity for Choice* (both published by Harper & Row, and also available in paperbook as Doubleday Anchor Book). *The Reporter* was glad to publish sections of the latter book in the issue of November 24, 1960.

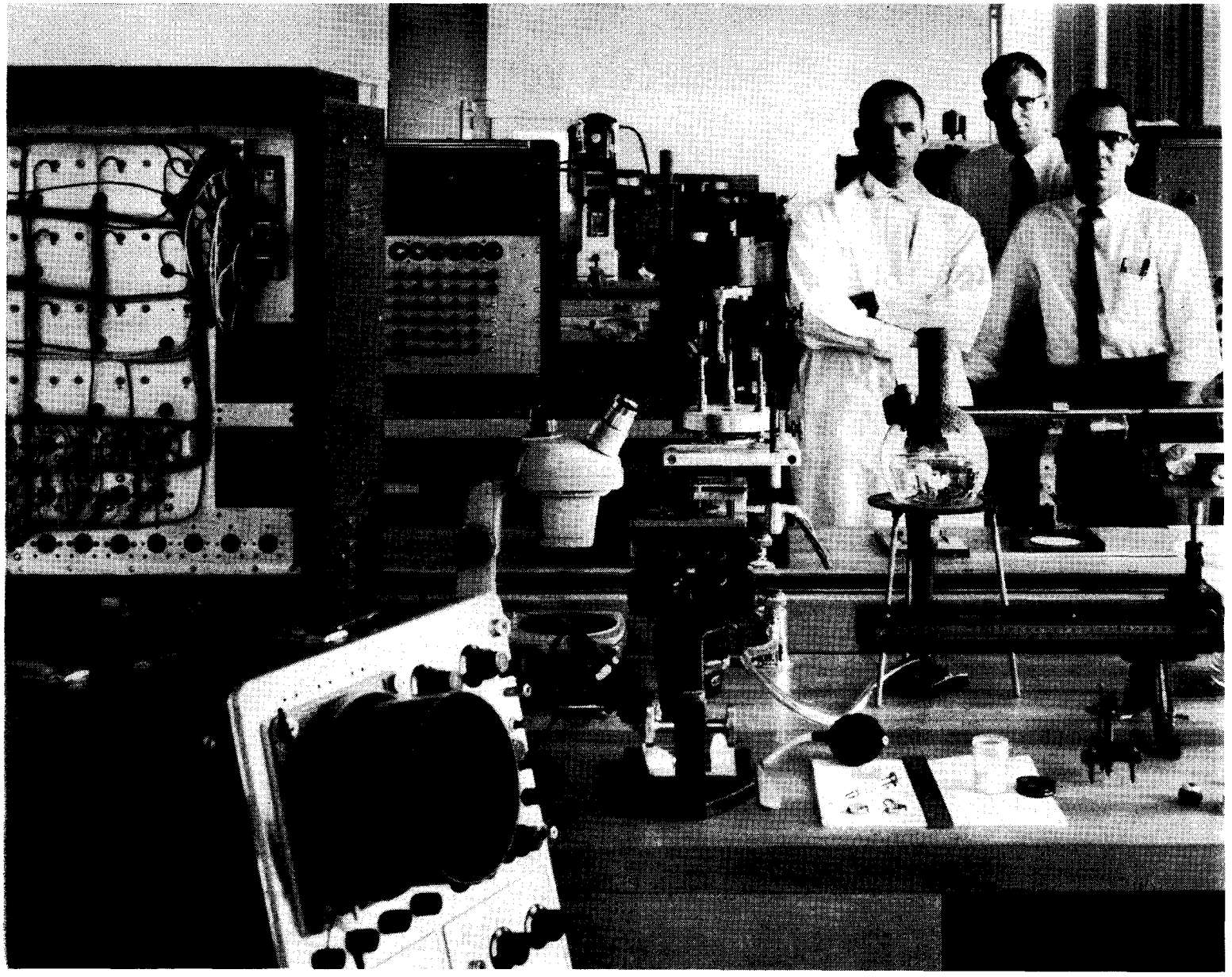
Eileen Chang, who was born in China, recently visited Formosa and Hong Kong. Her account is a story not so much of politics as of the way of life of people who live on the borders of Communism and who, in Hong Kong at least, are in constant communication with it. Miss Chang has been living in this country for several years and is now writing a contemporary historical novel about China. . . . Chicago had seemed to be outliving its reputation for gang killings and Syndicate coercion. For a decade there had been a period of comparative peace. Then last month the city held a municipal election that recalled much too vividly the bad old days. **Hal Bruno,** who is with the Chicago bureau of *Newsweek*, relates the sad story. . . . **Angela Conner,** a former member of our staff and a frequent contributor of artwork to this magazine, has recently been traveling in Africa. We publish in this issue selections from a portfolio of sketches she sent us from Zanzibar, together with her own commentary on that ancient sultanate. . . . The thalidomide disaster of last year was merely the latest in a series of frightening examples of bungling in the marketing of new medicines. Now that a new bill for control of new drugs has been passed, **Morton Mintz** takes a none too optimistic look at its chances of clearing up a situation that has all too often bordered on deadly chaos. Mr. Mintz, who is with the Washington *Post*, won a Heywood Broun Award and a special George Polk Award for his reporting on the fight against thalidomide.

Roland Gelatt, editor of *High Fidelity*, pays tribute to Francis Poulenc, whose death in January brought sadness to his many admirers. . . . **Nancy Price** describes herself as a "housewife-poet." She pursues both careers in Cedar Falls, Iowa. . . . **John P. Roche** finds it unfair to blame Dwight D. Eisenhower for the belated discomfort and disillusion with which Emmet John Hughes now looks back on the Eisenhower years in the White House. Professor Roche, National Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, is visiting professor of political science at the University of Chicago on leave from Brandeis University. . . . **John William Ward,** associate professor in history at Princeton, is chairman of the university's Special Program in American Civilization and the author of *Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age* (Oxford). . . . **Denis Warner** is an Australian journalist in the Far East. . . . **Sarel Eimerl,** an English free-lance writer, lives in New York.

Our cover for this issue is by **John R. McDermott.**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Who answers the ubiquitous "How"?



Men who create today's manufacturing technology need to be answer men. Among them, Western Electric's engineers.

As America's communications needs multiply, so do the questions asked of Western Electric, the Bell System's manufacturing and supply unit. Questions like these: How do you mass-produce nearly invisible "new art" components or 2,000-pound switching units? How do you make these products to high-quality standards—and reduce the level of your prices at the same time?

In today's fast-changing technology, some of the answers can't be found in the factory. Thus at W.E.'s Engineering Research Center near Princeton, New Jersey, men like those pictured above probe a microworld where 1/1000 of an inch wire must be bonded to transistor stripes 2/1000 of an inch wide. They create vacuums as perfect as a man-made machine can achieve; they split nanoseconds; and develop pressures that can crumble steel.

And the secrets yield. Discoveries about materials and processes help Western Electric fill its many-sided role in the Bell System. Manufacturing research helps us form the vital link between Bell Laboratories, which develops new products and systems, and the Bell telephone companies, which provide you with the world's best telephone communications at the lowest possible cost.

WESTERN ELECTRIC MANUFACTURING AND SUPPLY UNIT OF THE BELL SYSTEM

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

buy him his life... he needs you!

NGUYEN VAN NHO, VIETNAMESE, AGE 9 . . . Second oldest of four children. Father TB. Unable to work. Mother day laborer. Broke arm but continued working. Earns 41¢ a day. Insufficient to care for sick husband and children. Live in hut. Palm leaf roof, bamboo walls, beaten earth floor. Only furniture one camp cot, one bamboo bed. Parents desperately concerned for children's welfare. Help to Van Nho means help and hope to entire family.

You or your group can become a Foster Parent of a needy child. You will be sent the case history and photo of your "adopted" child and letters from the child himself. Correspondence is translated by PLAN. The child knows who you are. At once he is touched by love and a sense of belonging. Your pledge provides new clothing, blankets, food packages, education and medical care, as well as a cash grant of $8.00 every month. Each child receives full measure of material aid from your contribution. Distribution of goods is supervised by PLAN staff and is insured against loss in every country where PLAN operates. **Help in the responsible way. "Adopt" a child through Foster Parents' Plan. Let some child love you.**

PLAN is a non-political, non-profit, non-sectarian, government-approved, independent relief organization, registered under No. VFA019 with the Advisory Committee on Voluntary Foreign Aid of the United States Government and filed with the National Information Bureau in New York City. **We eagerly offer our financial statement on request because we are so proud of the handling of our funds.** PLAN helps children in Italy, Greece, South Korea, Viet Nam, Hong Kong, the Philippines and Colombia.

© 1963 FPP, Inc.

Foster Parents' Plan, Inc.

352 PARK AVENUE SOUTH, NEW YORK 10, N. Y. • Founded 1937

PARTIAL LIST of SPONSORS and FOSTER PARENTS

Steve Allen
Sen. Paul H. Douglas
K. C. Gifford
Helen Hayes
Dr. John Haynes Holmes
Sen. John G. Tower
C. D. Jackson
Sen. Jacob K. Javits
Garry Moore
Edward R. Murrow
Mary Pickford
Dr. Howard A. Rusk
Mr. & Mrs.
Robert W. Sarnoff

FOSTER PARENTS' PLAN, INC. R-3-63
352 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y. •
In Canada: P.O. Box 65, Sta. B, Montreal, Que.

A. I wish to become a Foster Parent of a needy child for one year or more. If possible, sex ....., age ....., nationality .....
I will pay $15 a month for one year or more ($180 per year).
Payment will be monthly ( ), quarterly ( ), semi-annually ( ), annually ( ).
I enclose herewith my first payment $ .....

B. I cannot "adopt" a child but I would like to help a child by contributing $.....

Name .....

Address .....

City ..... Zone .... State .....

Date ..... Contributions are Income Tax deductible.

CORRESPONDENCE

CANADA

To the Editor: I find William H. Hessler's article on Canada excellent. ("Washington Gives Canada an Election—and an Issue," *The Reporter*, February 28.) I have only three comments.

(1) I don't think his choice of words "to bully an ally" is correct; I do not believe that was either the State Department's objective or the result of its note.

(2) Mr. Diefenbaker's government was even shakier than Mr. Hessler describes; I believe the prime minister was about to face a "contempt of Parliament" charge on his budget estimates —a far more serious accusation than the more familiar "no confidence."

(3) The point about the custody and control of nuclear weapons needs elaboration. I think Mr. Hessler is somewhat misleading. While custody remains in U.S. hands, it is not true, I believe, to write that nuclear weapons "could be used by Canada's forces only at the President's order." The weapons would have to be *released* by the President; whether they were *used* would be a Canadian decision. I think the distinction is important.

MELVIN CONANT
New York

To the Editor: Mr. Hessler's article accuses the State Department of ineptitude and pontifically states that Canadian nuclear problems could have been better resolved by Canadians. (A "for motherhood and against sin" ending, if I ever heard one.) What proof has Mr. Hessler of his statement? What evidence has he produced involving the frustrating western defense problems the U.S. government is confronted with?

Our economy and resulting nuclear capability suddenly make us the bully of our gang. We don't like it any more than Canada or de Gaulle.

RALPH W. BARTLETT
Round Pond, Maine

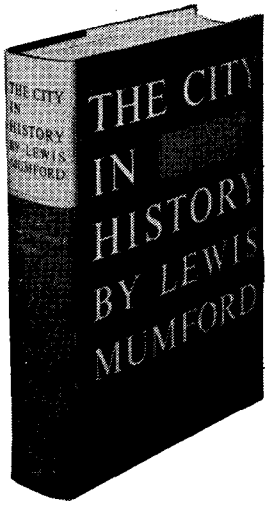
To the Editor: Mr. Hessler has presented the basic facts in the current U.S.-Canadian rift very clearly and succinctly. The Diefenbaker government was on the verge of defeat; the State Department's declaration simply hastened its downfall. Although the timing and the blunt nature of the declaration may have been diplomatically and politically inept, it merely brought out the salient points about Canada's commitments to NATO and NORAD. It is time that the government of Canada made up its mind on nuclear weapons. After all, it did scrap the Arrow program and then turned about and purchased U.S. weapons systems which are essentially useless or at best of limited value without nuclear armament.

With regard to NORAD and Canada's

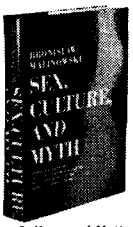
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Any 3 Books FREE

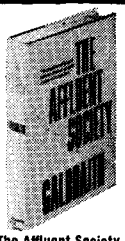
SAVINGS UP TO $36.00 WITH YOUR FIRST SELECTION



The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50.Member's price $6.95.



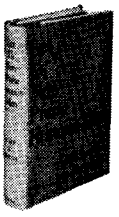
Sex, Culture and Myth, Bronislaw Malinowski. Retail $6.95. Member's price $5.50.



The Affluent Society, John Kenneth Galbraith. Retail $5.00. Member's price $3.50.

The Children of Sanchez, Oscar Lewis. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50.

A History of Sexual Customs, Dr. Richard Lewinsohn. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.50.



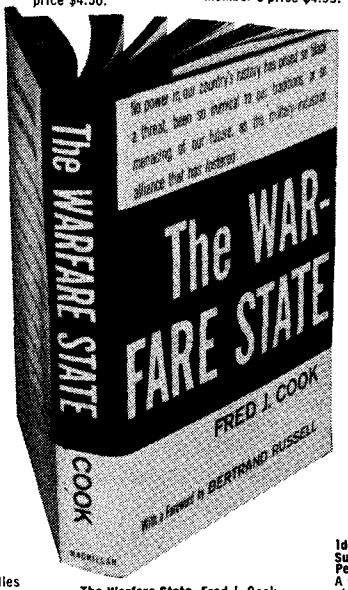
Let Us Now Praise Famous Men, James Agee and Walker Evans. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

Letting Go, Philip Roth. Retail $5.95. Member's price $4.95.

Thinking by Machine, Pierre de Latil. Retail $5.50. Member's price $3.95.

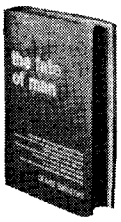
The Power Elite, C. Wright Mills. Retail $6.00. Member's price $3.75.

The Politics of Upheaval, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Retail $6.95. Member's price $4.95.

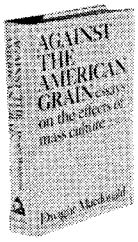


The Warfare State, Fred J. Cook. Preface by Bertrand Russell. Retail $4.95. Member's price $3.95.

Freedom in the Ancient World, Herbert J. Muller. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95



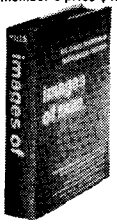
The Fate of Man, edited by Crane Brinton. Including Plato, Sophocles, Aquinas, Nietzsche, Engels, Freud, Toynbee, Kant, Whitehead, Kluckhohn, Shapley, Rosenberg, Huxley, and more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.



Against the American Grain: Essays on the Effects of Mass Culture, Dwight Macdonald. Retail $6.50. Member's price $4.95.

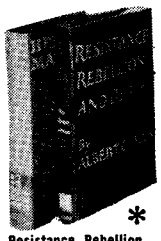
The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, edited by Robert E. Egner and Lester E. Dennon. Retail $10.00. Member's price $5.95.

The Golden Age of American Anthropology, edited by Margaret Mead and Ruth Bunzel. Retail $10.00. Member's price $4.95.

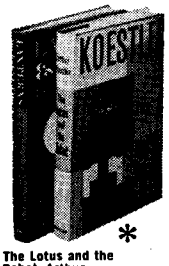


Images of Man: The Classic Tradition in Sociological Thinking, edited by C. Wright Mills. Penetrating studies of man by Lippmann, Spencer, Weber, Marx, Engels, Veblen, and many others. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.

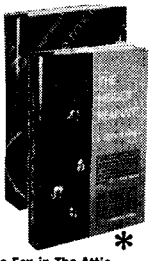
Identity and Anxiety: Survival of the Person in Mass Society. A massive compendium of studies by Mead, May, Orwell, Rosenberg, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills and more. Retail $7.50. Member's price $4.95.



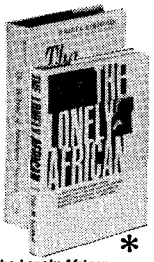
Resistance, Rebellion, and Death, Albert Camus; *and* **The Cuban Story,** Herbert Matthews. *Combined* retail price $8.50. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *



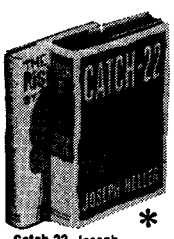
The Lotus and the Robot, Arthur Koestler; *and* **Lanterns and Lances,** James Thurber. Combined retail price $7.90. Member's price (for both books) $4.95. *



The Fox in The Attic, Richard Hughes *and* **The Hidden Remnant,** Gerald Sykes. *Combined retail price* $8.95. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *



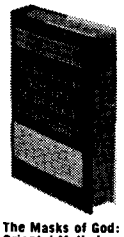
The Lonely African, Colin M. Turnbull; *and* **The Making of Economic Society,** Robert L. Heilbroner. Combined retail price $9.45. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *



Catch-22, Joseph Heller; *and* **The Rising Gorge,** S. J. Perelman. Combined retail price $10.45. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *

Pale Fire, Vladimir Nabokov; *and* **Letters of James Agee to Father Flye.** Combined retail price $10.00. Member's price (for both books) $5.95. *

The Masks of God: Primitive Mythology, Joseph Campbell. Retail $6.00. Member's price $4.50.



The Masks of God: Oriental Mythology, Joseph Campbell. Retail $7.50. Member's price $5.50.

SELECTIONS MAKE THE DIFFERENCE! Here are some of the selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. The selections of the Book Find Club **are** different. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. These are only a few from the outstanding list of more than 100 books and records that the Book Find Club will make available to you as a member if you join now. As an introductory offer, to acquaint you with the benefits and privileges of membership, we invite you to choose any three of the selections pictured above **free** with your first selection. Since several are dual selections*, you may acquire as many as **8** books in this way.

CONVENIENCE. Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Each month you will receive The Book Find News, containing *an authoritative review of the forthcoming* selection and descriptions of the many other books available at special member's prices. You need choose **only** the books you want.

AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%. As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. Compare the prices of the books shown here. Your savings on this introductory offer alone can amount to **as much as $36.00.**

BONUS BOOKS. When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take.

THE BOOK FIND CLUB

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll me as a member of the Book Find Club and send me the three free books of my choice with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling). I agree to buy at least four additional selections—or alternates—in the next twelve months. When my introductory agreement has been completed, I will be entitled to a **free bonus book** of my own choosing after every third selection that I take. I am to receive each month without charge the **Book Find News** containing an authoritative review of the forthcoming selection and descriptions of all other books available to me at special member's prices. This will enable me to make my own choice: if I do not want the selection announced I can return your form saying "send me nothing" or use it to order another book from the more than 100 current choice titles offered. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the five additional selections or alternates.

First Selection _____

Free Books 1 _____

2 _____

3 _____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss .....

Please print full name

Address .....

City ..... Zone .... State .....

(Same offer and prices apply in Canada. Address: 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ontario)

B63-34

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT

by Bernard Schwartz,
Professor of Law,
New York University

Part I of the most comprehensive commentary on the Constitution to appear in over a century. Dr. Schwartz's lucid study of the evolution of American governmental power includes analyses of the great Supreme Court cases and controversies from Marshall and Taney to our present Court. Illuminating and timely reading for every politically aware American.

Volume I—
FEDERAL AND STATE POWERS
$12.50
Volume II—
THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT
$12.50

Both Volumes, with Slipcase, $25.00

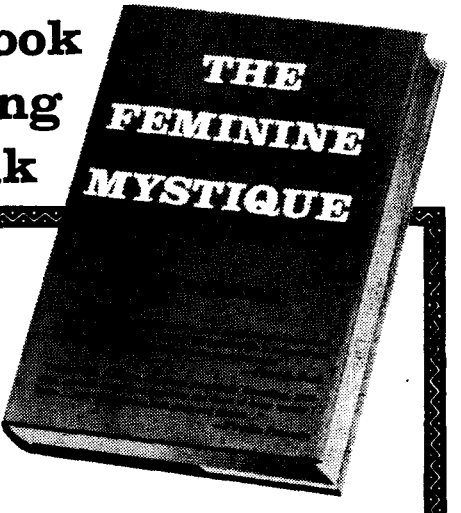
MACMILLAN

"You can count the great restaurants in America on the fingers of one hand."

VOISIN

Restaurant Voisin is one of them.
Open every day for luncheon, cocktails and dinner.
30 East 65th St. For reservations: Michel, LE 5-3800

The book that's causing all the talk



LILLIAN SMITH: "An important book filled with startling and significant facts about modern women and the homes they are destroying through no fault of their own."

MILLICENT C. McINTOSH: "A serious and important book . . . A 'must' for all who care about the future of our society."

PEARL S. BUCK: "Goes to the heart of the problem of the American woman, the problem she is to herself and the problem she creates thereby for the American man."

VIRGILIA PETERSON: "Absorbingly interesting, pertinent, relevant to my own problems and those of every woman I know."

ASHLEY MONTAGU: "The soundest, most understanding and compassionate treatment of contemporary American woman's greatest problem — self-fulfillment. A triumph."

LIFE MAGAZINE: "An angry, thoroughly documented book that in one way or another is going to provoke the daylights out of almost everyone who reads it."

THE FEMININE MYSTIQUE
By BETTY FRIEDAN
3rd Printing • $5.95 at all bookstores
W. W. NORTON & COMPANY, Inc., N. Y. 3

sovereignty, this latter point has been a convenient rallying cry for many of Canada's politicians and political aspirants. Ultimately, the prime function of NORAD is the defense of the United States. Consequently, it is not too surprising that total control is by Americans responsible to the President. It would be most interesting to question those people who champion Canada's sovereignty in the event of an actual nuclear attack on North America.

The disturbing feature of the State Department's note is that it has given most of the members of the government and the other Canadian political parties the two issues of nuclear arms and traditional anti-Americanism. The major problem, that of economic and trade difficulties, has now been relegated to a secondary role.

EDWARD NEPARKO
Edmonton, Alberta

To the Editor: Mr. Hessler fails to suggest one interpretation of Diefenbaker's behavior which seems reasonable from his account of the recent interaction between the two governments. May it not be that Mr. Diefenbaker, aware of his lack of popular support, intentionally tried to provoke interference by the U.S. government in an effort to supply himself with an election issue in a campaign which was soon to come in any event and for which his prospects were poor?

KENYON GILLESPIE
New York

To the Editor: I cannot help but wonder if part of the misunderstandings between our countries is to be found in the insistence made that the two countries are almost alike. Of course they are not alike—in history, in political organization, in legal system, or in the bicultural strains and stresses to which, in our case, Confederation is subjected. We in Canada are guilty of the same oversimplification of our relationships.

For the future of North America, I earnestly hope that understanding of Canadian affairs in their own terms is possible. Freedom for nations and for individuals is to be found, surely, in the differences between them: the recognition, understanding, toleration, and protection of these differences making the distinction between independent states and satellites, between liberty and tyranny.

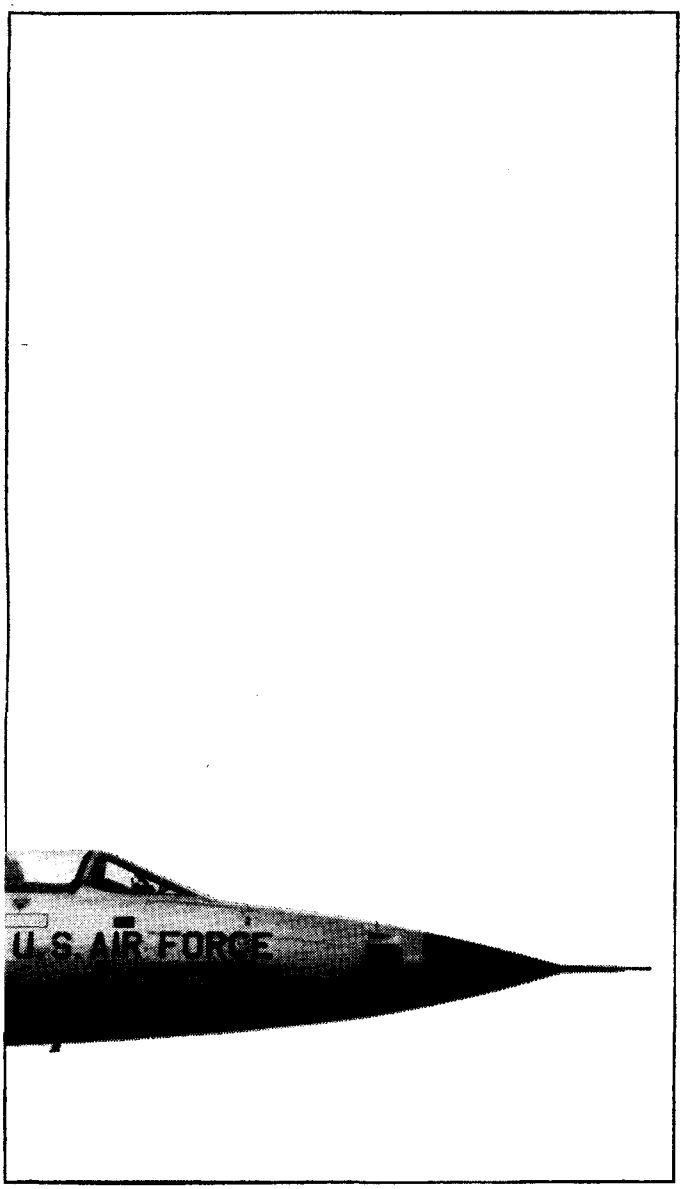
IAN FELLOWS
Ottawa, Ontario

THE GOP

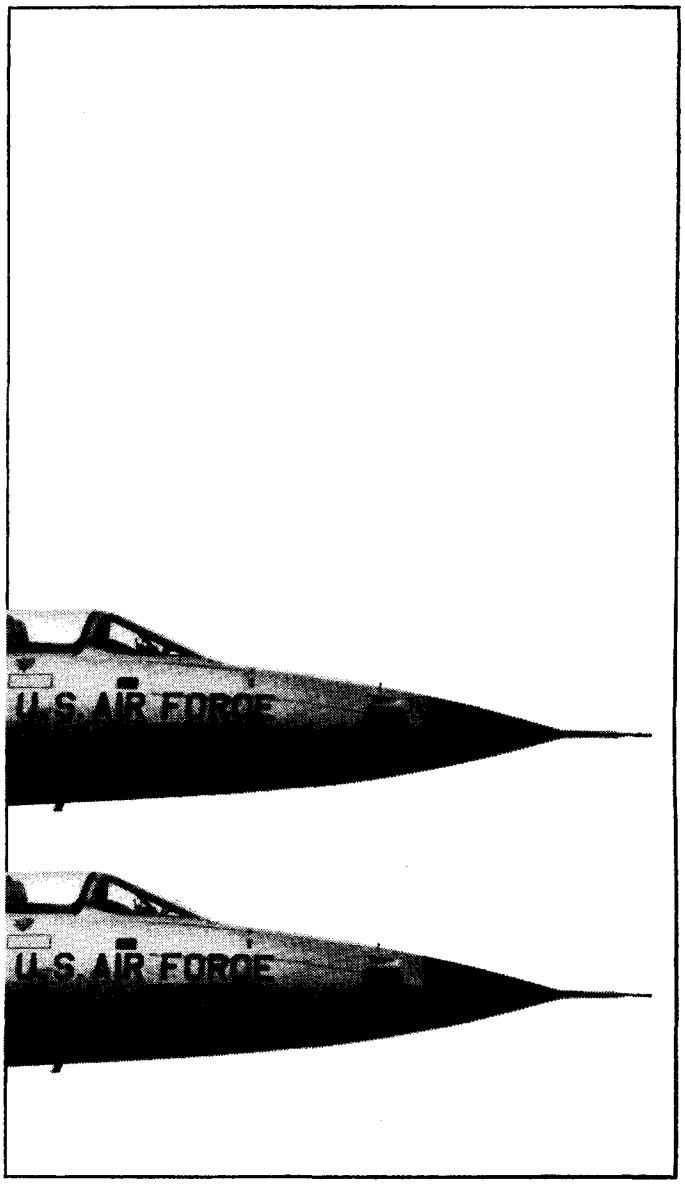
To the Editor: Rowland Evans, Jr.'s "Whither the Republicans?" (*The Reporter*, February 28) made this old-timer chuckle, because it so closely resembled an article about the Democrats following the political obituary of Al Smith. (However young you are, you have heard of Al.)

Some thirty years after reading the article, I recall the take-off about like

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



6500 man-hours to assemble



6500 man-hours to assemble

During the past two years, we have halved the cost of assembling the nose section of the F-105 fighter-bomber. (That's 5,500 major parts, excluding fasteners.)

This saving of 3250 man-hours is just a small part of the nearly $900,000 we have chopped off the total unit flyaway cost of the F-105. And when we say "flyaway," we mean with all systems and equipment in and tested and operating.

Not that we've done it all by ourselves. F-105 costs have been reduced (1) at the Republic plant; (2) by the thousands of small business firms who have received over 82% of our sub-contract purchase orders; and (3) by the suppliers of government furnished aircraft equipment, to whom we have given cost-control assistance with full Air Force cooperation.

In its first two years of operation, Republic's cost-management program saved the Air Force $226,300,000. Today we are still working to reduce continuously the total cost of the F-105 weapon system, without impairing function or reliability.

How much does an F-105D cost, now, as you are reading this message? Less than it did when this message was written.

REPUBLIC
AVIATION CORPORATION
FARMINGDALE, LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MARBORO SALE
SPRING Clearance

1345. HOW TO INCREASE READING ABILITY. By Albert Harris. The third edition of the guide to developmental and remedial methods, including practical applications and specific materials for teachers; appendices contains lists of tests, graded books, publishers of useful materials. *Orig. $5.25. Only* **1.98**

1143. APHRODISIACS: From Legend to Prescription. By Alan Walton. This strange, fascinating history of the use and misuse of love potions from ancient times to the present also includes A Cookery of Love, pharmaceutical preparations, and a bibliography. *Orig. $7.95.* *Only* **3.98**

P-227. DEGAS:
THREE DANCERS

A beautiful silk-screen reproduction of the well-known pastel drawing. Soft grays and black with touches of pink on a pale green paper. 18" high x 23½" wide. *Special* **1.98**

1108. CEZANNE DRAWINGS. Text by John Rewald. Nearly 100 plates representing every aspect of Cezanne's art—figure studies, still lifes and landscapes, show the artist's struggle for "realization." 8¾" x 11¼". *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

Krips' COMPLETE BEETHOVEN SYMPHONIES The famous Beethoven Festival Recordings made by the London Symphony Orch. conducted by Joseph Krips. Without question *the outstanding presentation of all 9 masterpieces,* recorded with extraordinary technical skill, on *8 magnificent 12" Long Plays.* Handsome 2-color soft-cover book presents a *Pictorial History of the Composer's Life and Times,* extensive notes on the symphonies, over 30 illustrations. Packaged in sumptuous leatherette gift case.
R-150. MONAURAL. *Orig. $39.50. Only* **14.95**
R-151. STEREO. *Orig. $48.00. Only* **14.95**

9570. MASTERS OF MODERN ARCHITECTURE. By John Peter. The great works and ideas of the master architects of the world. More than 70 famous composers of form in space including Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier, Neutra, Gropius, Saarinen, Mies Van Der Rohe and others are represented by over 225 vivid reproductions which capture the beauty of the original structures 9¾" x 13". *Orig. $15.00. New complete ed.* **5.95**

9810. PERVERSIONS: Psychodynamics and Therapy. Ed. by Sandor Lorand, M.D., 17 eminent psychoanalysts present accounts of the treatment of homosexuality, masochism, exhibitionism, fetishism, and other forms of perversion. *Orig. $5.00. Only* **1.98**

9742. Sherman's March: THOSE 163 DAYS. By John M. Gibson. Photos. Southern account of Sherman's march from Atlanta to Raleigh—eyewitness reports of those days of terror and destruction. *Orig. $5.75.* *Only* **1.98**

6850. LE MORTE D'ARTHUR: The Book of King Arthur and His Knights of the Round Table. By Sir Thomas Malory. A single-volume, 960-page, complete, unexpurgated edition of the 15th century classic, rendered into modern English spelling. Exact replica of the historic Medici Society Edition. *Orig. $15.00.* *Orig.* **9.95**

7636. DICTIONARY OF ARTS AND CRAFTS. Edited by J. L. Stoutenburgh, Jr. Complete encyclopedia of names, terms, tools, materials, techniques and histories of all arts and crafts including pottery, leather work, carving, weaving painting, sculpture, ceramics, photography, etc. Essential volume for all who work with their hands. *Orig. $6.00. Only* **1.98**

6277. WORD ORIGINS AND THEIR ROMANTIC STORIES. By Wilfred Funk. Reveals the fascinating derivations of more than 3,000 words in common use, with unusual stories you can use to spark any conversation. 432 pp. *Special* **1.98**

1285. The Arden Shakespeare: KING RICHARD II. Ed. by Peter Ure. The definitive ediiton with detailed introduction, textual notes and references, including Shakespeare's source material, in a beautifully designed volume. *Orig. $3.85.* *Only* **99¢**

1188. Vladimir Nabokov: LAUGHTER IN THE DARK. A fantastic, chilling tale of the folly and destruction of human love—far more wicked than *Lolita. Orig. $3.50.* *Only* **99¢**

1311. Ceylon: IMAGE OF AN ISLAND. By Reg Van Cuylenburg. Over 200 magnificent photographs capture the poetry, splendor and spirit of this exotic island in brilliant studies of ceremonial dances, religious rites and bathing girls; shrines, sculpture and the ruins of monuments, wildlife, villagers and children. A sumptuous, 8½" x 10½" volume. *Orig. $12.50. Only* **5.95**

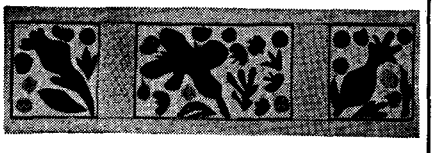
1206. THE KINGDOMS OF CHRIST—from the Apostles to the Middle Ages. By Peter Bamm. 365 illustrations, 18 color plates and an inspiring text bring vividly before us the saints, martyrs and missionaries as Christianity marches victoriously into Rome, Byzantium, and finally its world-wide influence—all confirmed by archaeological evidence. Over 350 pp., notes, index. *Orig. $8.95.* *Only* **3.98**

1265. MY THIRTY YEARS BACKSTAIRS AT THE WHITE HOUSE. By Lillian Parks and Frances Leighton. Priceless anecdotes of the Presidents and their families, friends, relatives and famous visitors—entertainingly recounted by the second-generation maid and semstress whose memory also includes the tragedies, scandals and feuds that have made history. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.98**

1290. The Letters of Bernard Shaw to Molly Tompkins: TO A YOUNG ACTRESS. Ed. by Peter Tompkins. More than an exciting literary discovery, more than pungent advice on how to get ahead in the theatre, this correspondence traces a close friendship that lasted from 1921 until Shaw's death. Photos of over 175 letters and post cards; 9" x 12". *Orig. $8.50.* *Only* **2.98**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 600-page hardbound edition. *Special* **1.98**

9843. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LOVE. By Morton M. Hunt. A brilliant panorama of the ways men and women have loved and felt about love through the centuries—from Alcibiades, the insolent Greek, to Havelock Ellis—a wide-ranging, deep-probing investigation into all its facets. *Special* **1.98**



P-225. MATISSE:
FLOWER PETALS.

A delightful arrangement of botanical forms in shades of blue, green, yellow, red and orange on a soft beige background. A highly attractive panel that will fit in with almost everyday decor—traditional, modern or period. 12" high x 48½" wide; silk screen. *Special* **3.88**

8479. SEXUAL LIFE IN ANCIENT GREECE. By Hans Licht. Thoroughly explains the sexual background of the philosophy and art of Ancient Greece; deals with marriage customs, human figure, festivals, Greek literature, sexual relationships, prostitution, homosexual love, etc. Beautifully bound. 556 pages; illus. **5.88**

8478. SEXUAL LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME. By Otto Kiefer. Sexual activities in early Rome clearly analyzed; discusses Roman sadism in sex, free love, savage spectacles, marriage, religion, philosophy, literature, etc. Beautifully bound. 379 pages; illus. **4.88**

7293. William Faulkner: NEW ORLEANS SKETCHES. In these early stories and sketches by the Nobel Prize novelist, the reader will find many of the themes, materials and stylistic elements which Faulkner made particularly his own. *Orig. $4.50.* *Only* **1.77**

2894. REMBRANDT. Intro. & notes by Trewin Copplestone. 48 magnificent paintings in full color, portraits, self-portraits, group portraits, religious and genre paintings from the total output of this greatest of masters. 9½" x 11". *Special* **1.98**

1316. LIES LIKE TRUTH: Theatre Reviews and Essays. By Harold Clurman. One of America's most distinguished theatrical figures dissects the current international dramatic scene with rare insight and sparkling judgment, commenting on O'Neill, Arthur Miller, Brando, Beckett, Osborne, Ionesco and others. Softbound. *Orig. $2.45.* *Only* **99¢**

1284. AMERICAN SAIL—A PICTORIAL HISTORY. By Alexander Laing. This huge, 8¼" x 11", magnificent volume contains a rare collection of over 500 illustrations and a superb text by a world authority; it vividly recounts the dramatic history of American sailing vessels and courageous men of the sea since colonial times —whaling, clipper ships, sea fights, piracy, slave trading, yachting and racing. Index. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **5.95**

1310. OUTLAWS. By Danilo Dolci. A terrifying firsthand report of the misery and poverty in the Sicilian center of banditry and Mafia rule, made less atrocious by the couraeogus dedication of a small group of humanitarians to improve conditions by positive, nonviolent action. *Orig. $4.95. Only* **99¢**

1288. The Arden Shakespeare: THE TEMPEST. The definitive edition, incuding hitherto unpublished music for the play, new material on the language and poetry, a critical introduction, extensive notes and commentary. *Orig. $3.85.* *Only* **99¢**

P-228. DEGAS:
TWO DANCERS AT THE PRACTICE BAR.

The famous pastel drawing in a superb silk screen reproduction. Black, soft gray and pale pink on a light green paper. 18" high x 23½" wide. *Special* **1.98**

1328. A TREASURY OF HUMOROUS VERSE. By Samuel Hoffenstein. Gay, mad, witty, profound. An "Open Sesame" to hours and hours of full-bodied humorous verse on love, women, married men and bachelors, children, animals, hopes, complexes and repressions. "Incomparable"—H. L. Mancken; " . . . the book I should wish to have along with me on a desert island"—Dorothy Parker. Gold-stamped library binding. *Special* **2.49**

1173. THE REBEL SHORE. By James M. Merrill. The dramatic story of Union sea power in the Civil War, a brisk history of events, personalities and gallant Confederate defenders. Photos. *Orig. $4.75.* *Only* **1.49**

9571. MASTERS OF PHOTOGRAPHY. Ed. by Beaumont and Nancy Newhall. More than 150 superb photographs chosen for their value as works of art with biographies, critical analyses of Ansel Adams, Cartier-Bresson, Steichen, Stieglitz, Weston, Walker, Evans, Paul Strand and others 10" x 11½". *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **4.95**

8726. ART DIRECTORS ANNUAL #39. Prepared by the Art Directors Club of New York, this sumptuously produced, color-laden annual of the best advertising and editorial art and design is a collector's item. 338 pages, index; boxed. 8¼" x 11½". *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **4.95**

5691. MINERALS, METALS AND GEMS. By A. Hyatt Verrill. This fascinating book covers ores and precious stones, all rocks, crystals, sands, clays and earths, their peculiarities, romantic histories and strange legends, how they are formed, found, mined and used. Illus. *Special* **1.49**

8769. HEAR THE TRAIN BLOW. By Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg. A magnificent pictorial epic of America in the Railroad Age; the story of the railroads as they have played their part in the history, economy, geography and folklore of America. 870 photographs, *old prints and drawings.* A magnificent gift. 8½" x 11¼". 415 pp. *Special* **2.98**

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Incredible bargains start at 99¢ each

THOUSANDS OF OVERSTOCK BOOKS MUST BE SOLD!

1287. The Arden Shakespeare: KING LEAR. Ed. by Kenneth Muir. Based on the first Folio, this definitive edition contains a detailed introduction with an interpretation of the play and Shakespeare's source material, textual notes, references and commentary. *Orig. $3.85.* *Only* **99¢**

1343. HIGH POINTS IN THE HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE. By Domenico Vittorini. A chronological account of the development of the fine literary heritage from Dante to Croce and Pirandello, combining learning and critical perception with a simple, graceful style. *Orig. $4.75.* *Only* **1.49**

1286. The Arden Shakespeare: ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA. Ed. by M. R. Ridley. The definitive edition with detailed introduction, textual notes, references, and commentary, in a handsome volume. *Orig. $3.85.* *Only* **99¢**

1395. SEVENTEEN, A Novel of Puberty. By Carl Soya. All the agony and delight of growing up, all the difficulties of psychological and sexual adjustment, told with candor, humor and deep poetic feeling, in one of the strongest and most honest novels on this subject. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.49**

1136. THE COMPLETE GUIDE TO GARDEN FLOWERS: An Encyclopedia of Garden Planning. Edited by Herbert Askwith. More than 1,000 full-color photographs! A monumental guide complete in one giant 8½" x 11" volume, covering over 2,000 subjects in easy-to-understand language. Describes, illustrates, and answers every question about *every* desirable flower and ornamental plant in *every* region of North America. It is the how-to-do-it garden tool that supplants every other book on the subject. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **5.95**

1398. WORKS OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU: 4 volume set in a handsome slipcase. Introd. by Brooks Atkinson. Decorations by Clare Leighton. Four complete books: *Walden, Cape Cod, The Maine Woods,* and *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* in handsomely designed volumes, large clear type. *Semi-stiff* bindings. *Orig. $7.50.* *The 4 vol. set boxed.* **2.98**

1356. NAGEL'S TRAVEL GUIDE TO HOLLAND. The complete traveler's handbook containing historical and geographical facts, city plans, neighborhood maps, fold-out maps, museum diagrams, and information on restaurants, hotels, entertainment and transportation that will save you time and money. 564 pages. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **99¢**

P-230. MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT I.

This German illuminated manuscript from the Middle Ages, now in the Bibliotheque du Roi in Paris, has been silk-screened onto a special parchment paper in metallic gold and brilliant red, blue, green and yellow. 21½" high x 15" wide. *Special* **2.98**

1289. THE MARQUISE OF O—. By Heinrich von Kleist. Preface by Thomas Mann. This excellent translation by Martin Greenberg retains the genius of the original eight short novels and tales of a strange, violent world of seemingy ordinary people. *Orig. $5.00.* *Ony* **99¢**

1312. TUNISIA IN PHOTOGRAPHS. By Claude Roy, et al. The new nation on the African coast, with its exotic past, colorful present and enigmatic future, captured in 100 stunning photos, 12 in full color, showing the ancient Carthaginian deserts, camels, mosaics and ruins as well as today's peasants, townspeople, mosques and modern buildings. A beautiful, 8½" x 11" volume. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **5.95**

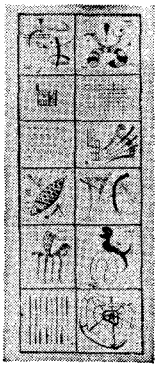
1330. The New Frontiersmen—THE KENNEDY CIRCLE. Ed. by Lester Tanzer. Intro. by David Brinkley. The nation's top Washington correspondents contribute revealing profiles-in-depth of President Kennedy's key advisers and cabinet members —how they got where they are, how they work and think, and how they influence both the President and the course of history. A probing picture of the President himself, his public and private personalities, and his philosophy of government. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.98**

1267. MY DAUGHTER MARIA CALLAS. By Evangelia Callas. A frank and startling portrait of the childhood, girlhood and training of the tempestuous opera star, told with sympathy and understanding despite the well-known rift between mother and daughter. *Orig. $4.60.* *Only* **1.98**

1309. Henry James: ENGLISH HOURS. This delightful collection of essays, devoted to the country James finally adopted as his second homeland, will be welcomed by all who love England or appreciate sensitive travel reporting. Illus. Notes, bibliog., index. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

9839. THE NEW YORKER ALBUM OF CARTOONS, 1950-55. This treasury of civilized humor includes incomparable cartoons by famous *New Yorker* greats plus 40 of the magazine's famous covers in full color. Handsome, oversize book. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

1382. THE ROMANTIC SOUTH. Ed. by Harnett Kane. From the Colonial era through the recent past, here are rare prints, photographs and selections from Jefferson, Lee, Dickens, Twain, many more. Handsome, 8" x 19½", gift ed. *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **6.88**



P-229. KANDINSKY: *SWEET TRIFLES.*

Variegated shades of blue, green, red and terra cotta form fascinating patterns on a yellow background with a bright pink border. 38" high x 12½" wide. Silk screen. *Special* **2.98**

1404. ALEISTER CROWLEY—The Man, The Mage, The Poet. By Charles Cannell. A dignified biography of the poet-mystic that does much to dispel the vicious legends without discounting the reasons for his sinister reputation—his unabashed sexual prowess, practice of ceremonial magic and denunciation of Christianity. *Orig. $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

1187. C. P. Snow: STRANGERS AND BROTHERS. The title work of the series that has brought Snow to the forefront of contemporary novelists. *Orig. $4.50.* *Only* **99¢**

P-231. MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPT II.

This German illuminated manuscript from the Middle Ages, now in the Bibliotheque du Roi in Paris, has been silk-screened onto a special parchment paper in metallic gold and brilliant red, blue, green and yellow. 21½" high x 15" wide. *Special* **2.98**

9817. THE GLORY OF GREECE. By Samivel. A book that evokes the world of Hellas from Minoan Crete and Agamemnon's Mycenae to the Golden Age of Pericles. Augmenting the 110 photogravure plates, plus five in full color, with quotations from classical Greek authors, as well as a superb text, here is a living portrait of our ancient heritage. 266 pages. 8" x 10¼". *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **5.95**

9899. *Magician With Lens* — MOMENTS PRESERVED. By Irving Penn. Text by Irving Penn and Rosemary Blackmon. Over 340 photographs, 44 in full color, by one of the giants of modern photography. Startling, witty, penetrating studies of famous actors, writers, artists, Indians, lush women, wild-eyed-tribesmen, Parisian Models, plus the cream of his advertising work. 10" x 13", slip case. *Orig. $17.50.* *Only* **6.95**

1354. A PICTORIAL TREASURY OF OPERA IN AMERICA. By Daniel Blum. This boon to opera lovers contains scenes, stars and complete synopses of famous American operas—the first elaborate pictorial presentation of this nature ever compiled. Over 1500 illus., 9" x 12", 304 pp. *Special* **2.98**

1392. EASTERN CHRISTENDOM. By Nicolas Zernov. 2,000 years of history, from storied Byzantium to the Soviet Union today. 71 magnificent illustrations of the art and architecture of the Christian East. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **3.87**

1394. THE GENTLEMEN CONSPIRATORS: Price-Fixers in the Electrical Industry. By John G. Fuller. The complete, shocking story of the greatest price-fixing and bid-rigging scandal in decades of American industrial history, involving General Electric, Westinghouse, Allis-Chalmers and their top executives. *Orig. $3.95.* *Only* **99¢**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY

marboro **Dept. R-975, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N. Y.**

Please send me postage prepaid, the bargains circled below. (Please add 25¢ postage and handling on all orders under $5.00.)

☐ Enclosed find $_____

☐ Send C.O.D.* } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

☐ Charge my Diners' Club account #_____

☐ Charge my American Express account #_____

1108 1136 1143 1173 1187 1188 1206 1265 1267 1284 1285 1286 1287 1288
1289 1290 1309 1310 1311 1312 1316 1328 1330 1343 1345 1354 1356 1382
1392 1394 1395 1398 1404 2894 4667 5691 6277 6850 7293 7636 8478 8479
8726 8769 9570 9571 9742 9810 9817 9839 9843 9899
R150 R151
P225 P227 P228 P229 P230 P231

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ ZONE_____ STATE_____

☐ Check here if you receive our monthly bargain circular

New York City residents add 3% sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D.
Add 25c per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions.
10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

WHEN IN NEW YORK CITY, VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP
47 West 42nd Street • 8 East 59th Street • 144 West 57th Street
56 West 8th Street • 390 Fulton Street (Brooklyn)
IN HOUSTON, TEXAS, • 5020 Westheimer at Post Oak

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FREE BOOKS
NO OBLIGATION
Choose One!
... PLUS NEW HIGH INTEREST

4.8% compounded quarterly
current rate per annum

EXTRA BENEFITS . . .

- Interest paid from date funds received when left through end of quarter and paid to date of withdrawal when left 6 months or more.
- Funds received or postmarked by the 10th earn from the first.
- Savings insured to $10,000 by the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation.
- We handle all details of transferring your account. Pay postage both ways.
- Accounts welcomed from corporations, institutions, etc.

Send for FREE BOOK
OPEN YOUR ACCOUNT TODAY
(Mail coupon below)

Commonwealth Savings
AND LOAN ASSOCIATION
5077 Lankershim Bl., Dept. RE No. Hollywood, Cal.

☐ Please send book No. 5 6 10 11 (circle your choice, one only — adults only)
☐ Please send information and financial statement.
☐ Please open an insured Savings Account in the amount of $_____. Funds are enclosed.

Name(s)
Street
City Zone State

TWO NATIONS— HOW AND WHY THEY GREW

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE A History

By Oliver P. Chitwood, Rembert W. Patrick and Frank L. Owsley

How did America, a young country become one of the world's major powers? This up-to-the-minute revision of a two volume classic traces our growth from colonial times to the present. Illustrations, including reproductions of the best American art highlight the story. Boxed set $22.50.

THE SOVIET CRUCIBLE

2nd Edition

By Samuel Hendel

Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Stalin and Khrushchev speak — accompanied by the comments of such leading observers of the Soviet scene as George F. Kennan, Isaac Deutscher, Sidney Hook, Milovan Djilas, Harry Schwartz and Bertram D. Wolfe. The thoroughly updated edition of this collection includes the latest changes in Communist ideology. $10.00

Van Nostrand

120 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J.

this: "The question most needed to be discussed today is not whether the Democratic Party can live, but whether it deserves to live." The writer diagnosed the ills of the Democrats as practically the same as those Mr. Evans finds affecting the Republicans: liberals versus conservatives, young versus old, Northerners versus Southerners; lack of leadership, lack of vim, lack of a message to the people. He also reminded them, even as Mr. Evans did the Republicans, that they had been a minority party for thirty-four years.

What put the Democrats back into the saddle? Nothing for which the Democrats can be held responsible. The "people," seeking a scapegoat, turned naturally to "that engineer in the White House," and threw him out. Probably not one vote above the normal Democratic vote was cast *for* the Democratic candidate, but, rather, *against* the Republican.

ELIZABETH EMMETT
Wakefield, Rhode Island

To the Editor: The article was very well done.

GERALD K. FORD
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

TV AND THE STRIKE

To the Editor: This is the third New York City newspaper strike I have lived through. I have seen, each time, television improve its news coverage techniques but still fall short. It was, therefore, a pleasure to read the remarks of such a distinguished TV newsman as Chet Huntley ("News Without Newspapers," *The Reporter*, January 31). In admitting that the one medium cannot replace the other, his stature, already quite high in my mind, has doubled.

DAVID L. MILLER
New York

HOME THOUGHTS FROM ABROAD

To the Editor: Noel Mostert's article "The Freeze" (*The Reporter*, March 14) was highly appreciated and very true.

As a boy in the north of England over sixty years ago, I remember so well in the winter that my mother, in a vain attempt to avert disaster, would keep a gas light burning night and day in the bathroom, but it never did any good—always the freeze, then the flood!

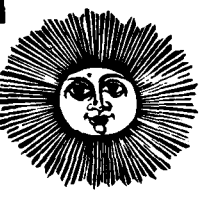
How the poor creatures have managed to survive the present winter, I cannot imagine. Small grate fires in perhaps two downstairs rooms, around which the household huddles and shivers, are the only source of heat; bedroom fires are *never* lighted, unless one is dying, and then they are no damned good anyway because from long disuse all the grates do is smoke.

Personally, I prefer the decadent American way of life.

ALAN JOHNSON
Birdsboro, Pennsylvania

Many of the world's distinguished educators teach at the University of California in the summer. Study with them, for credit, while you enjoy the outdoor life, cultural activities and scenic splendor of California. Courses offered in all fields. 6 and 8 week sessions. Four campuses: Los Angeles, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, Davis. One of the things you'll learn is why nearly 18 million people wouldn't live anywhere else! Write today for information, and specify campus in which you are most interested. Dept. C, Dean of Educational Relations, University Hall, Berkeley 4, California.

LEARN UNDER THE PACIFIC SUN



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SUMMER SESSIONS

JOHN DAY JOHN DAY

Africa's Red Harvest
AN ACCOUNT OF COMMUNISM IN AFRICA

By PIETER LESSING. "Of absolutely first-rate importance . . . the first informed, serious and responsible study of Communist operations in sub-Saharan Africa." — JAMES BURNHAM. Map. $3.95

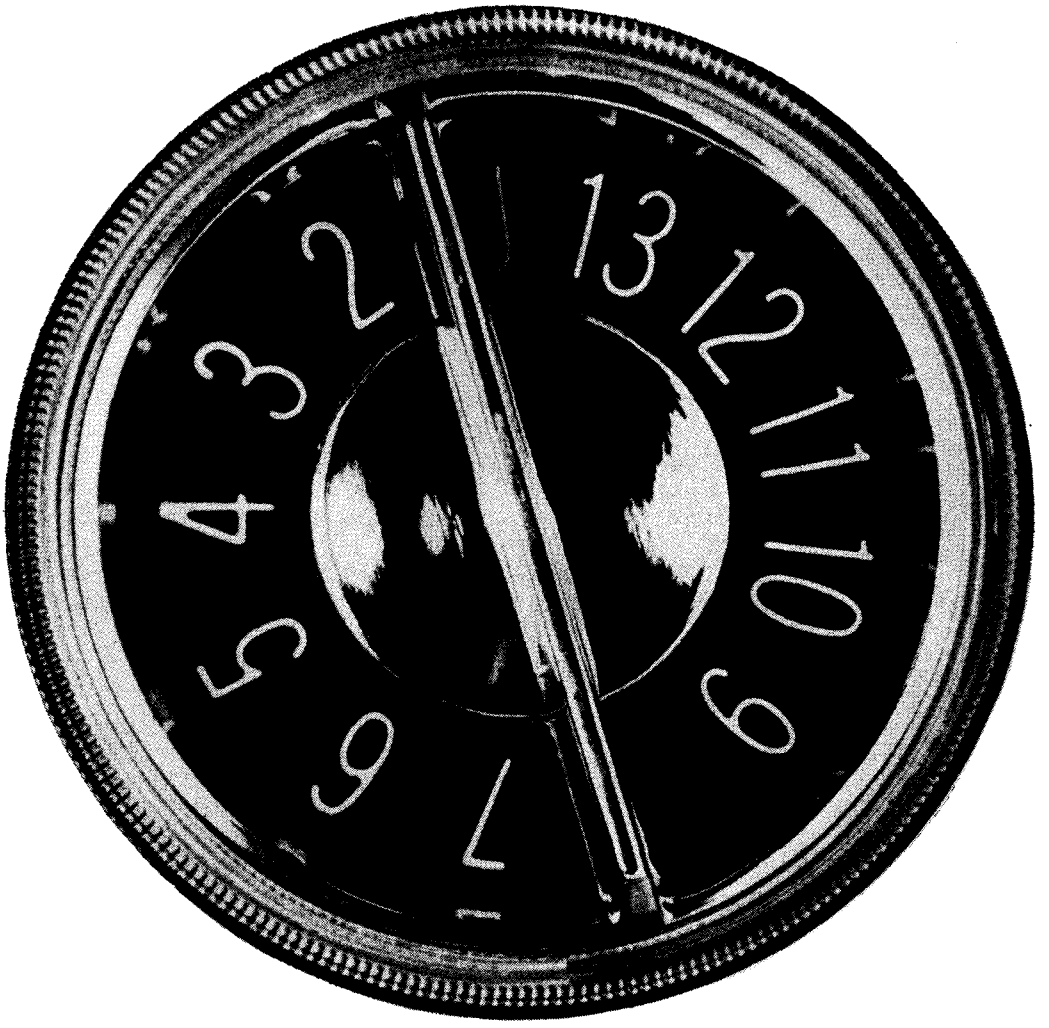
The NEHRUS
Motilal and Jawaharlal

By B. R. NANDA. "An excellent historian gives a superlative account of how the hopes, ambitions and ideals of both father and son interacted and played a dramatic part in India's political metamorphosis."— *Los Angeles Times*. Illustrated. $6.75

At all bookstores

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY, N. Y. 16

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



This is not a roulette wheel.

Spin it like one and you run the risk of missing some rewarding TV: important drama . . . fine music . . . vital history. They're all there for you—if you plan your viewing. Below is a sampling of programs for this April. Browse through it and other listings. The scope is broad. The choice is yours.

The Pesticides Controversy
Wednesday, April 3 (7:30-8:30 PM)

The Invincible Mr. Disraeli
Trevor Howard and Greer Garson star.
Thursday, April 4 (8:30-10 PM)

St. Matthew Passion
Part II of the Bach oratorio.
Sunday, April 7 (3:30-5:30 PM)

Ethiopia: The Lion and the Cross
Interview with Emperor Haile Selassie (Pt. II).
Sunday, April 7 (6-6:30 PM)

The "Oscar" Awards
Monday, April 8 (10 PM)

The Kentucky Coal Miner
Study of a distressed industry.
Tuesday, April 9 (10:30-11 PM)

Encyclopedia of Communism
Report on Communist strengths and weaknesses around the world.
Wednesday, April 10 (7:30-9 PM)

Telephone Hour
Harry Belafonte, Birgit Nilsson, Andres Segovia, and members of the N.Y. City Ballet.
Thursday, April 11 (10-11 PM)

Thomas Jefferson and His World
Book discussion for young people.
Saturday, April 13 (12:30-1 PM)

The Vatican
The state and its people.
Sunday, April 14 (6:30-7:30 PM)

Robert Moses
A biographical profile.
Wednesday, April 17 (7:30-8:30 PM)

Mission of the Church
Six-part series on church work by laymen.
Beginning Sunday, April 21 (10:30-11 AM)

The Western Hero
From 1899 to the "adult western."
Sunday, April 21 (6-6:30 PM)

American Landmark, Lexington and Concord
Fredric March narrates.
Sunday, April 21 (8:30-9 PM)

The Country Editor
A descriptive study.
Tuesday, April 23 (10:30-11 PM)

The Business of Gambling
Growth and effects of organized gambling.
Sunday, April 28 (10-11 PM)

Air Pollution
The malady and its control.
Tuesday, April 30 (10:30-11 PM)

* * * *

Regularly Scheduled Programs

Monday to Friday: Continental Classroom: Atomic Age Physics & American Government/ College of The Air: The American Economy/ Today/Calendar/Discovery '63

Mondays: David Brinkley's Journal

Tuesdays: Chet Huntley Reporting

Wednesdays: CBS Reports

Fridays: Eyewitness

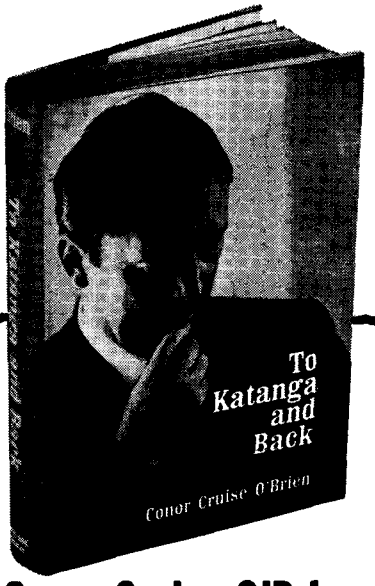
Saturdays: Watch Mr. Wizard/Reading Room/ Exploring

Sundays: Camera Three/Meet the Professor/ Adlai Stevenson Reports/Issues and Answers/ Update/College Bowl/The Twentieth Century/ Meet the Press/Walt Disney's Wonderful World of Color/Voice of Firestone/Howard K. Smith —News and Comment

NOTE: Times, programs, titles, and casts are subject to change. Please consult local listings.

Television Information Office
666 Fifth Ave., New York 19, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Conor Cruise O'Brien has written an angry, eloquent book about the UN adventure in Katanga

His resignation from the UN over the Katanga crisis made international headlines in 1961. His explosively frank opinions on the UN action, on Hammarskjold, on the positions taken by the United States, Britain, Belgium are given in *To Katanga and Back*. Just published and already topic of hot debate. First tributes from England:

"Does it throw light on what really happened? A great deal. It is the self-examination of a man in a key position of authority for whom everything suddenly went wrong. In my opinion, his was an honourable failure; a good deal more honourable than the official British role of supporting U.N. resolutions verbally, but undermining their effectiveness behind the scenes."—*The Observer*

"Compellingly readable."
—*The Economist*

"Fascinating"—*The Spectator*

"A remarkable contribution to historical literature. A moving work."—*The New Statesman*

TO KATANGA AND BACK

$5.95. Simon and Schuster

THE REPORTER'S NOTES

The Herds

A Republican friend of ours from Shaker Heights was in town the other day, and as often happens we got to talking politics. It was soon apparent that he was making the mistake of thinking about Washington as one vast corral of pure-bred liberal cattle whose hides all bear the brand of the Chief Frontiersman himself. We quickly set out to disabuse him of this misconception.

We pointed out that the more experienced range riders are able to distinguish as many as half a dozen separate and distinct herds on the grazing lands along the Potomac, and by way of illustration we called attention to a couple of recent items in the newspapers: George C. McGhee is leaving his job as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs to become U.S. ambassador at Bonn; Newton N. Minow is soon to leave the FCC for parts unknown. Routine personnel changes? Not by a long shot. You have to realize that McGhee is very close to Vice President Johnson, and that Minow was an early supporter (and law partner) of Adlai E. Stevenson, our ambassador to the U.N. Furthermore, a leading candidate for Minow's job is FCC Commissioner E. William Henry, who is understood to be a Bobby Kennedy man. McGhee's successor is W. Averell Harriman, who has reached the age where he doesn't have to be anybody's man but who is known to enjoy the President's good opinion. Yes, even the President can get jobs for his friends, but the practiced eye may also discern several other important influences at work.

The U.N. ambassador's herd, according to those who claim to know, includes Labor Secretary Wirtz, Postmaster General Day, AID Administrator Bell, Assistant Secretaries of State Cleveland and Dutton, NATO Ambassador Finletter, and four U.S. ambassadors abroad (the Dominican Republic, Guinea, Luxembourg, Denmark).

Lyndon Johnson's friends and supporters also occupy high places. Experts on such matters would list Navy Secretary Korth, NASA Administrator James E. Webb, and the Majority Secretary of the Senate, Robert G. Baker. Mr. Baker may not be very well known in Shaker Heights but he is extremely well known in the Senate.

Robert F. Kennedy's men are not quite so easy to spot, but they are certainly no less important. They naturally include the members of the sprawling Justice Department secretariat, but some would claim that he also maintains an outpost in Foggy Bottom in the person of Deputy Under Secretary of State Orrick. Looking to the future, the Attorney General is said to have been helpful in the selection of dozens of younger officials (general counsels and the like). One student of the administration has informed us that the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Taylor, is at least a part-time Bobby man.

To be sure, the friends of LBJ, AES, and RFK are by no means to be counted as enemies of JFK, but neither are the allegiances of friendship to be ignored. Certainly they are not ignored in Washington. People are always talking about the various herds, constantly trying to size them up. Do the Vice President's Navy Secretary and NASA administrator equal the Justice Department and a half interest in General Taylor? Does either outweigh Mr. Stevenson's Labor Secretary and sub-Secretaries of State?

Actually, the debate is pointless. For there is another herd, more powerful if smaller than any of the other three. It includes two Cabinet members, the chief foreign affairs adviser to the president, the director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and the director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OCTOBER 1960 | MAY 1961 | OCTOBER 1961 | APRIL 1962 | OCTOBER 1962

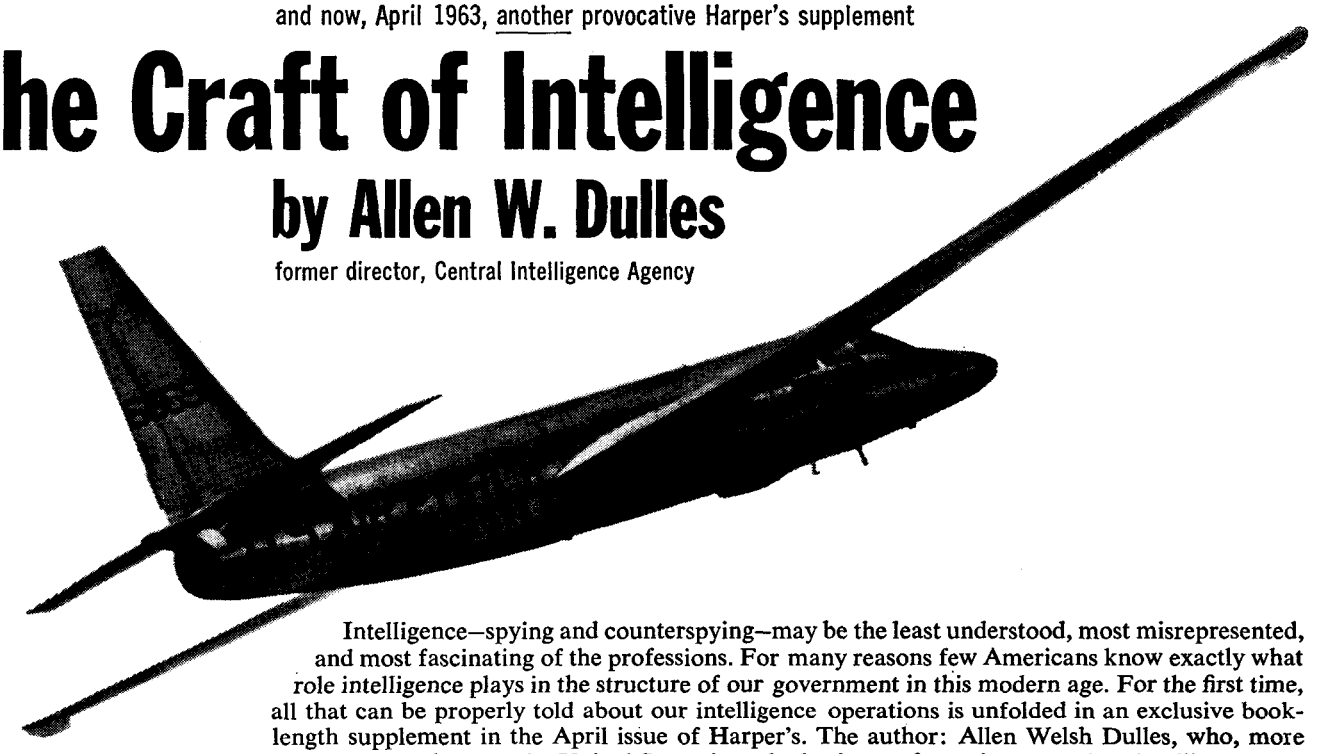
The Crisis in American Medicine | The Mood of the Russian People | The College Scene | A Long and Happy Life a novel by Reynolds Price | The American Female

and now, April 1963, another provocative Harper's supplement

The Craft of Intelligence

by Allen W. Dulles

former director, Central Intelligence Agency



Intelligence—spying and counterspying—may be the least understood, most misrepresented, and most fascinating of the professions. For many reasons few Americans know exactly what role intelligence plays in the structure of our government in this modern age. For the first time, all that can be properly told about our intelligence operations is unfolded in an exclusive book-length supplement in the April issue of Harper's. The author: Allen Welsh Dulles, who, more than any one else, put the United States into the business of massive peacetime intelligence.

Mr. Dulles writes from 50 years' experience with espionage, counterespionage, and the clandestine side of foreign affairs. Here Mr. Dulles gives us an authoritative account of what the U-2 accomplished; how the O.S.S. worked with anti-Nazis inside Germany during World War II; the prospect of a successful revolt inside Cuba; how the text of Khrushchev's secret speech denouncing Stalin was found; and scores of international intrigues unraveled by American intelligence officers and our allies.

What better time to start your Harper's subscription. You may have up to *13* monthly issues for only $3.87—at a special new-reader's rate.

HARPER'S
the 1962 winner of:

Two AAAS-Westinghouse awards for excellence in magazine science writing (this is the first time such *double recognition* has gone to a single magazine).

The second annual Richard L. Neuberger award—to John Fischer, Editor-in-Chief—for the "editor or publisher who in the preceding twelve months has done the most to raise the standards of magazines as a medium of democratic communication."

The Lincoln University Human Relations Award.

National School Bell Award for distinguished comprehensive coverage of Education.

Harper's magazine, 49 East 33d Street, New York 16, New York R-4

Please start my Harper's subscription with your April issue, which features—in addition to the regular contents—the special book-length supplement, **The Craft of Intelligence,** by Allen W. Dulles. I understand that a year's subscription (12 issues) is normally $7.00. But:

Check One
☐ I want to take advantage of your special subscription offer. Please send me the next 12 issues for only $3.87, and bill me later.
☐ I would rather receive the next 13 issues for only $3.87 and pay for my subscription now. I have enclosed my check.

Name_____
PLEASE PRINT
Address_____
City_____ Zone_____ State_____

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SAFE
SAVINGS
● Safety of your savings insured to $10,000.
● Air mail postage furnished free.
● Since 1925.
● In the heart of San Fernando Valley.
4.8%
current rate per annum
van nuys savings
and Loan Association
6569 Van Nuys Boulevard
Van Nuys, California
Mr. Gayle Post:
☐ Open my savings account.
☐ Send Free information.
Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____

Hannah Arendt
"...something of an eighth wonder..."
Just as Dr. Arendt's five-part report on the Eichmann trial is ending in *The New Yorker*, her new book about revolutions as a paramount political factor of our times is published.
William Barrett, in *The Atlantic*, says: "No schematic summary can do justice to the richness of detail and insight to be found in this book. Dr. Arendt's mind has always seemed to me something of an eighth wonder; an erudite and disciplined thinker, she still retains the ebullient intuition of a woman able always to come at things from a fresh and unusual angle."
At all bookstores $6.50
On Revolution
THE VIKING PRESS, N.Y. 22

Agency. This most impressive of all Washington herds—Robert S. McNamara, Douglas Dillon, McGeorge Bundy, John A. McCone, and William C. Foster—is made up entirely of Republicans. We had expected that revelation to please our friend from Shaker Heights, but somehow it only seemed to confuse him.

Escape Literature

The United States Information Agency has been at it again. Insistent Republican prodding has produced the admission that those polls to measure what foreigners think of us which were referred to so frequently in the 1960 campaign are still with us, although in slightly different form. The old, classical query—"Who's tougher? We or they?"—is no longer part of the routine. Here's the sort of questions foreigners get asked these days. Quickly now, what are the informational interests and general media habits of urban Cambodian radio owners? Stumped? Well, it seems they aren't interested in a damned thing outside Cambodia. What is the impact of a U.S. visit on the attitudes of the Burmese grantees toward various aspects of American life? (A Burmese grantee, friend, is a student from Burma who receives a grant to study in the United States.) The impact, among other things, is that juvenile delinquency here is worse than the grantee thought.

Two polls of particular interest were "world-wide reactions to the election of President Kennedy," taken just after the election, and the "impact of Castro upon Latin-American public opinion." In the first, the USIA found knowledge of the American election was "remarkably high" and opinion of Mr. Kennedy favorable. In the second, we are told that eighty-six per cent of Brazilian rural inhabitants had never heard of Castro. A net plus, we'd say.

Who is the "most admired person living today in any part of the world"? Why, John F. Kennedy, that's who. Who says so? Canadians say so—or did in January, 1962. (They may feel a little differently these days.) The President scored a full eighteen percentage points ahead of a Quebec politician and eight ahead of Winston Churchill, his nearest rival. Nineteen per cent of the West Germans feel that U.S.-Bonn relations have improved; fifteen per cent feel they have deteriorated; fifty per cent see no change; the rest had no opinion (June, 1962). Two out of three adult Frenchmen think that JFK was "right to act as he did" in the Cuban crisis. Can two out of three Frenchmen be wrong?

We had just finished lifting a tot of rum to this heartening evidence of the unrivaled success of the New Frontier when the USIA informed us that confidence in U.S. leadership had dropped a bit by February this year, while the Russians were gaining. Two out of three Frenchmen, it turns out, can change their minds: appreciation of the Russians in France moved from minus 35 per cent to plus 21 per cent, the highest rate of approval in Europe. Nonetheless, we're still at a record high—and so we were surprised when USIA Director Edward R. Murrow let it be known that some polls are still classified as "confidential." We had thought declassification of such polls was a central plank in Mr. Kennedy's campaign platform. They will be declassified after two years, Mr. Murrow said, unless "the interests of national security" interfere. Well, that settled that—the most interesting polls are still locked in the USIA vaults. Meanwhile, we must content ourselves with the polls that *have* been released. We'll start with "communications habits of the Chinese minority in Bangkok and Southern Thailand" and move along to a "survey of post utilization and assessment of IPS materials and services." It's rather dull reading, but apparently there's always a happy ending.

Wait Till Next Term

Youth is reputed to be a time of impatience, but in affairs of state these days it appears to be the older men—de Gaulle, Adenauer, perhaps even Khrushchev and Mao—who seem most pressed to get things arranged the way they want them in a hurry, while our young President, secure in the wealth of years that lie before him, rocks along apparently unruffled by setbacks and bides his time. There have recently been a number of suggestions in the press, all

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Clubs to Join and No Other Obligations! Fabulous Record Value!

now The 9 Master Symphonies complete

Brilliantly performed by Sir John Barbirolli . . . Josef Krips . . . Carl Schuricht . . . Otto Ackermann . . . Walter Goehr . . . Sir Adrian Boult, and the London Symphony . . . Orchestra of the Festival of Vienna . . . Zurich Tonhalle Orchestra . . . Manchester Orchestra . . . South German Radio Orchestra

yours for just $9.95 *(Comparable Value $24.95)*

10 DAY FREE HOME TRIAL!

Quite simply, in the history of recorded music, there has never been an offer to compare with this. The world's nine best-known, best-loved symphonies—the absolute foundation of any music-lover's collection—*complete*—yours, now for only $9.95!

These are not the efforts of unknown artists or "pickup" orchestras. They are internationally critically-acclaimed performances by world-renowned orchestras and conductors.

Listen, as Sir John Barbirolli leads the famed Manchester "Hallé" Orchestra in a sparkling version of Mendelssohn's "Italian" Symphony. Listen to Walter Goehr's inspired interpretation of the mighty Beethoven Fifth. Listen, as Josef Krips conducts the Zurich Tonhalle Orchestra in Dvorak's spirited "New World" Symphony. Or as Sir Adrian Boult leads the great London Philharmonic Orchestra through a moving interpretation of Haydn's "London" Symphony. ALL 9 OF THE MASTER SYMPHONIES IN THIS GREAT COLLECTION ARE YOURS TO ENJOY, *FREE*, IN YOUR OWN HOME, FOR 10 FULL DAYS!

Why we want you to listen before you decide

Why do we make this generous offer? Because we want you to enjoy these superb performances at your leisure. To give them your undivided attention in the quiet repose of your living room or den, before you make up your mind.

We want you to judge the quality of these handsomely-packaged, individually-sleeved Long Play records for yourself.

We want you to *experience* the engineering skill that brings each note, each nuance, so astonishingly alive. From the silver ting of the triangle to the thunder of the timpani, each instrument speaks to you in its own, true voice. From solo violin to full, resounding orchestra, the exciting dynamics of sound come to you just as the composer—and these supreme interpreters—meant them to be heard.

In short, we do not wish to "sell" you these recordings. We want you to acquire them—because they have convinced you, as no words ever could, that they *belong* in your home.

All this for only $9.95?

Often, we are asked by record-collectors, who know what works of comparable quality are bringing at the stores, how we can manage to offer this group of master symphonies at so low a price. They have listened to these records. They know that there has been no compromise in performance, recording skill, or quality of record. How, then, can we do it?

The answer is that, through modern methods of mass production and mass distribution—through going directly from manufacturer to you, with no middle men to take their toll en route—we are able to establish the price you see here.

But, in order to effect you these savings, we must estimate the total demand in advance. Our supply is limited. This means that many people may well be disappointed because the records are gone before they decide to act. For this reason, we urge you to avoid disappointment by acting now. Send for your set of the 9 Master Symphonies today.

Mail coupon today for 10 days' FREE trial

To receive your album, simply fill out the coupon and send it today with your check or money order for $2.95. Your 5-record set will be sent to you promptly, and you will be billed for the remainder. Then enjoy your records for 10 full days. If you are not completely delighted, simply return them to us. Your money will be refunded immediately, no questions asked.

But remember, quantities are limited, so write for your set today! If attached reply card is missing, write: Concert Hall Society, Dept. R-3, 1861 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

Concert Hall Society Dept. R-3, 1861 Broadway, New York 23, N.Y.

THE IMMORTAL SYMPHONIES

- ✲ BEETHOVEN'S 5th SYMPHONY
- ✲ BRAHMS' 4th SYMPHONY
- ✲ DVORAK'S 5th ("New World")
- ✲ HAYDN'S 104th ("London")
- ✲ MENDELSSOHN'S 4th ("Italian")
- ✲ MOZART'S 41st ("Jupiter")
- ✲ SCHUBERT'S 8th ("Unfinished")
- ✲ SCHUMANN'S 3rd ("Rhenish")
- ✲ TCHAIKOVSKY'S 6th ("Pathétique")

Recorded in Superb High Fidelity on Five 12" Long Play Records

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A publishing house is known by the company it keeps

KAY BOYLE

THE SMOKING MOUNTAIN

Stories of Germany during the Occupation. With a Foreword by WILLIAM L. SHIRER

"Brilliant." —HOWARD NEMEROV

"A work of art." —MAY SARTON

"Incisive, significant." —HARRY T. MOORE

"She has all my admiration." —HERBERT GOLD

"We need this book badly." —BESSIE BREUER

"Fine, penetrating writing." —OLIVER LA FARGE

"Marvels of insights." —HERBERT MITGANG

$4.95

MICHAEL STRAIGHT

A VERY SMALL REMNANT

The author of the highly praised *Carrington*—"a classic" *(Newsweek)*; "as a novel of the West, it could hardly be surpassed" *(The Times Literary Supplement)*—here tells another dramatic story of the Indian Wars, and of the conflict between two battle-hardened officers, one committed to a life of unending warfare, the other to a course of reconciliation. Out of this conflict comes a costly victory for the saving remnant: the small minority who in all times have saved what is best in their society by resisting the abuse of authority, even to the point of death.

$4.00

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

Publisher of Borzoi Books

501 Madison Avenue, New York 22

clearly based on adequate authority, to the effect that Mr. Kennedy is content to wait two years or more for the favorable tides and winds that will allow him to move out of the harbor and hoist his running sails. Thus, according to *Time:* "... Administration stalwarts argue that, okay, maybe Kennedy has had to compromise on a few issues that he considered basic. But that is because he is a first-term President who must, to see his ideals come to bloom, be re-elected. Kennedy's second term, under the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution, will be his last. And so, unhampered by political considerations, he will be able to go all out for the policies and programs in which he believes." A less tendentious rendering of the same theme appeared in a column by William H. Stringer in the *Christian Science Monitor:* "Administration spokesmen argue that, slowly but inevitably, the need for the Kennedy measures will become apparent, and that 1964 and the 'second term' years will be much more productive in New Frontier legislation."

Mr. Stringer also revealed that some members of this eminently history-conscious administration have drawn comfort and guidance from comparisons with the records of the past administrations. In a striking mixture of modesty and bipartisanship, Mr. Kennedy's administration reportedly sees itself as "more like Teddy Roosevelt's regime than Franklin Roosevelt's." The distinction, Mr. Stringer has been told by someone or other, lies in the fact that "conditions cried out for reform in the F.D.R. era, while the maladjustments of Theodore Roosevelt's day, though they ran deep, did not insistently demand action." This would seem to suggest a conviction among some "spokesmen" that a democracy cannot act effectively until its back is to the wall, but the *New Republic's* anonymous "T.R.B." offers another historical comparison, with Wilson, to assert that a President can gain ground even against indifference, confusion, and partisan opposition if he happens to possess "the driving force of personal belief." This is a quality both Roosevelts shared in varying degrees with Wilson, along with a troubled sense that there was no time to waste.

It would seem that there are at least a few problems demanding prompt attention these days, too. But leaving all that aside, we would like only to enter a learned footnote of our own in the contest now going on to see who can find the most irrelevant historical reference with which to appraise the record of the Kennedy administration so far. Harry S. Truman, with whom no White House spokesman has seen fit to compare the present incumbent, had this to say in his *Memoirs* about a President's responsibility to lead: "If he exercises his authority wisely, that is good for the country. If he does not exercise it wisely, that is too bad, but it is better than not exercising it at all."

THE POWELL AND THE GLORY

For Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (D., New York)

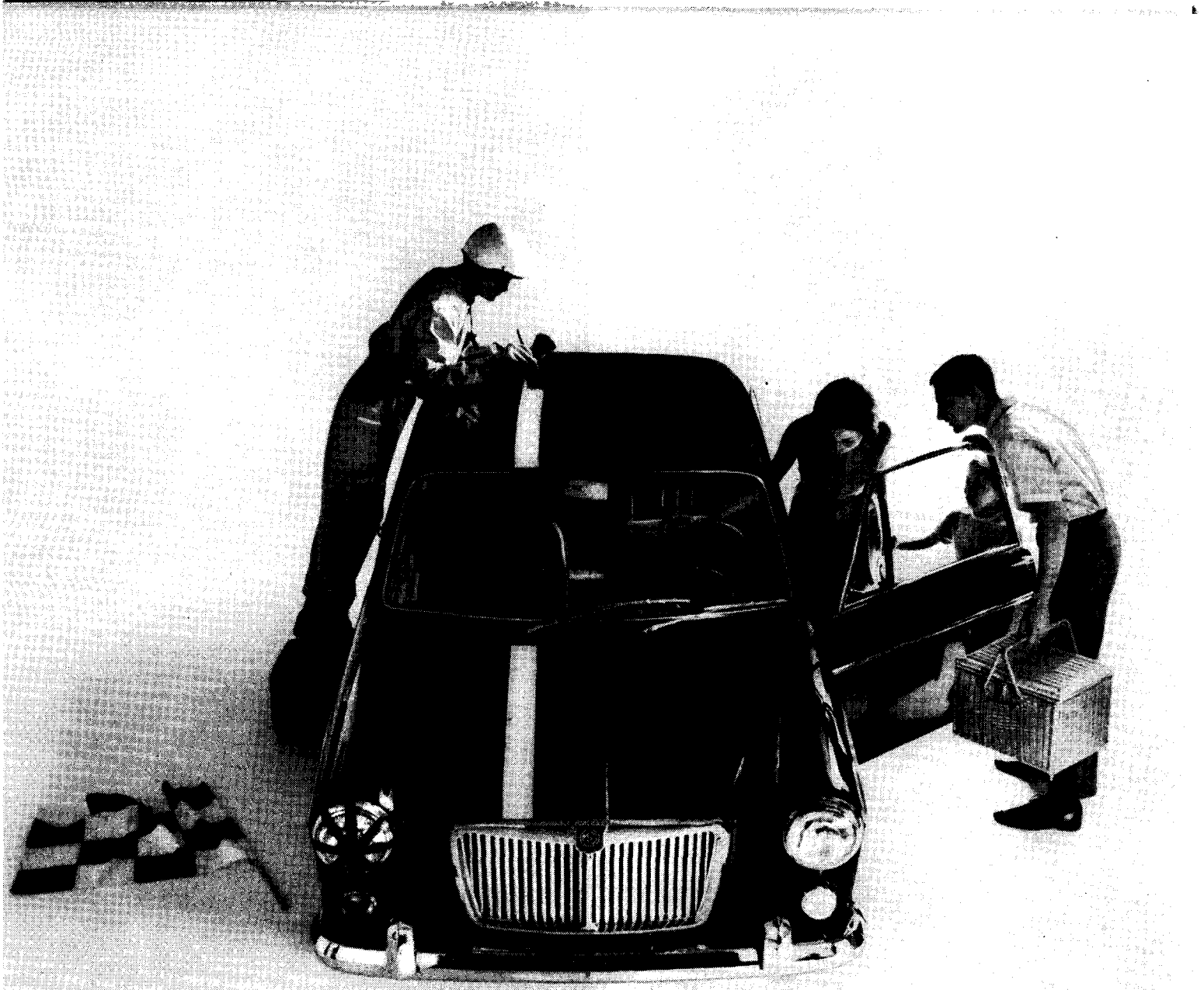
Anything whites can be,
He can be better:
Junketer, demagogue,
Loafer, go-getter.

Anything whites can do,
He can do louder—
Preach and not practice and
Then take a powder.

Anything charged him,
He labels a figment
Leveled by white men
Because of his pigment.

—SEC

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



sports . . . . . sedan

Paint a stripe along its top; a number on its side . . . and you're ready to compete.
Pack it full with Mom, kids, pets, lunch and you're on your way to a picnic. That's the joy of owning the new MG Sports Sedan. It's the amazing combination of racing potential and sedan comfort at a price so low ($1898*) that you owe it to yourself to give it a trial run.

Make no mistake about it, this MG is a sports car . . . designed and built in true British sports car tradition . . . packed under its hood, a sports car power plant—the world's number 1 competitive engine . . .
. . . an engine that sets crosswise instead of lengthwise. This simple maneuver finds 80% of the car's length devoted to luggage and passengers, 5 passengers. Even long-legged riders will find the back seat as big as a bathtub . . .

. . . while up front, sports car enthusiasts sit snugly in two buckets . . . Dual carburetion . . . 4-speed stick shift . . . Crunchproof synchromesh gear box . . . Speeds in excess of 80 mph, the guts and spirit of a true MG.
But Mom likes this MG because it's a tiny marvel in big city traffic. It parks in a pocket, stretches budgets (24 to 30 mpg). It goes shopping, visits Grandma, hurries to the station, hushes to church and sits comfortably at a drive-in movie.
But on the road, when you're all by yourself—it's an MG. Flattens hills, corners like a cat. Sports car disc & drum combination brakes for safer, surer stops. Revolutionary fluid suspension system (no springs, no shock-absorbers) for a creamy smooth ride. Front wheel drive . . . the engine pulls instead of pushes . . . incredible stability (especially on slippery roads).

The MG Sports Sedan—a car that anyone can drive with enjoyment, comfort and confidence. A little giant, bigger on the inside than it appears on the outside.
Put a racing stripe on its top . . .
. . . or a picnic basket in its back. You have at your command an obedient servant, a sporting spirit—an elegant rascal.
And even sports car drivers wave . . .

MG SPORTS SEDAN
$1898.00*

*Suggested retail price New York P.O.E. includes: turn signal; windscreen washer; spare wheel; tool kit; ash tray light. (heater, white-walls and racing stripe optional)

PRODUCT OF THE BRITISH MOTOR CORPORATION, LTD., MAKERS OF MG, AUSTIN HEALEY, SPRITE, MORRIS AND AUSTIN CARS

FOR OVERSEAS DELIVERY INFORMATION, WRITE: BMC, DEPT. R-1, 734 GRAND AVENUE, RIDGEFIELD, N. J.

PROOFSOLES.COM.NZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATO's Nuclear Dilemma

HENRY A. KISSINGER

THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE is going through another of those critical re-examinations which over the past two years have been recurring at ever shorter intervals. Once again there is wide debate over the relative emphasis to be given to nuclear as against conventional arms, the nature of nuclear war, and the relationship of various national nuclear forces to each other. The United States has resurrected its proposal for a multilateral NATO force and is urging it as the touchstone of Atlantic solidarity.

The discussions are complicated by the fact that the domestic politics of some key allies give a tentative and unreliable quality to the expressions of their present leaders. What with the imminent succession to the chancellorship in Germany, the elections pending in Britain, and the political realignment being pursued in Italy, the voice of Europe reaches us in an extremely distorted manner.

This makes it all the more essential for us to understand what is involved. For the issue before NATO far transcends military strategy. What is at stake is the organization of Europe, the domestic stability of major allied governments, and the future of the Atlantic Community.

A redefinition of relationships was inevitable, and it would be unfair to attribute to the United States the sole responsibility for the current impasse. It is equally of no help to blame the present state of affairs entirely on our European allies. We can in any event do less about the policy of other countries than that of our own. In order to understand why we have acted as we have, it is important to analyze the assumptions behind our NATO policy.

I. The U.S. Strategy

Four major elements can be discovered with various degrees of explicitness in the U.S. strategy for NATO:

(a) *"Flexible Response."* The first component has been identified with the phrase "counterforce strategy." There have been many variations of this theme. It has been argued by Secretary McNamara that even after absorbing a Soviet surprise attack, our strategic retaliatory forces would be able to destroy the entire Soviet target system. In other words, we would be able to "win" a general war—even after conceding the first blow—in the sense that after the nuclear exchange we would still possess reserves of nuclear firepower while the Soviets had expended theirs.

In his more recent pronouncements Secretary McNamara has been more modest. Now the argument is that our reserve of protected firepower will enable us to conduct a "centrally controlled" nuclear war which provides the opponent a maximum incentive to spare the civilian population by giving us the option to do likewise.

(b) *Antagonism to National Nuclear Forces.* Our concern with the ability to fight a centrally controlled general war against a single (though unspecified) target system has caused us to be extremely hostile to the existence of national nuclear forces (other than our own) within the Alliance. President Kennedy has described the French *force de frappe*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as inimical to NATO, and Secretary McNamara's epithets have been equally blunt.

Our opposition to the British retaliatory force has been less explicit. Yet the arguments used against the French apply here as well. In both cases, the requirement of central control is interpreted to mean that the strategic nuclear weapons of the Alliance must be "integrated" and "responsive to a single chain of command"; in other words, that they must be an adjunct to the U.S. strategic forces.

(c) *Tactical Nuclear Weapons.* Similar hostility has been shown to tactical nuclear weapons. It might seem that if a general nuclear war can be fought with restraint, it should be possible to limit the employment of tactical nuclear weapons to a geographically confined area. However, Secretary McNamara and his associates have held the contrary view. Secretary McNamara has repeatedly pointed out that tactical nuclear weapons involve a grave risk of escalation and should not be considered a substitute for conventional defense.

At the same time, the tactical nuclear weapons deployed overseas are said not to be really necessary for the kind of strategic exchange envisaged by the McNamara theory. They are not well enough protected and not easily susceptible to central control. In Secretary McNamara's statements they are therefore described as a "bonus" which our strategic planning cannot really count on.

(d) *Conventional Defense.* If our leaders consider European national nuclear forces irrelevant and tactical nuclear weapons overvalued, it follows that the European contribution to NATO should be in the field of conventional defense. This argument has been pressed insistently. "The decision to employ tactical nuclear weapons," Secretary McNamara said in his report to the House Armed Services Committee in January of this year, "should not be forced upon us simply because we have no other way to cope with a particular situation."

The corollary is that the most desirable objective would be to resist a Soviet conventional attack with purely conventional means, a task which, it is often said, is well within the capabilities of the West. Secretary McNamara in his recent testimony indicated that present NATO conventional capabilities were adequate to deal with any "major incursion." Nevertheless, he urged that they be strengthened to give us "capabilities for dealing with even larger Soviet attacks"—in other words, a massive, sustained Soviet offensive.

TO UNDERSTAND the European reaction to these propositions it is important to compare them with what has heretofore been traditional NATO doctrine. Until the advent of the Kennedy administration the ground forces in Central Europe had been considered the "shield" and the nuclear forces the "sword." It was part of NATO doctrine that a massive Soviet attack on Central Europe would be met with some form of nuclear retaliation practically from the outset; the conventional forces were to deal only with minor probes. It was never considered that a full-scale conventional defense of Europe should be attempted. Most Europeans have been convinced—in large part by the previous U.S. policy-makers—that deterrence would be enhanced by confronting the Soviets with the strong likelihood that major aggression against Europe would mean nuclear war.

In the light of this, it is not easy to understand the repeated expressions of outrage by administration spokesmen about European doubts with respect to the continued validity of our nuclear guarantee. For the rationale of the new strategy is precisely that the traditional NATO doctrine has lost some of its validity. Why else did the Kennedy-Macmillan Nassau communiqué reverse the original significance of sword and shield, calling the nuclear weapons the "shield" and the conventional weapons the "sword"? It is not easy to see what other interpretation can be made of the following statement by Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Alain C. Enthoven on February 10: ". . . We will have no sensible alternative to building up our conventional forces to the point at which they can safely resist all forms of non-nuclear aggression. Our forces will be adequate if we can never be forced because of weakness to be the first to have to resort to nuclear weapons." Though neither the doctrine of "flexible response" nor the build-up of conventional forces need have produced the present crisis of confidence, they have been so handled as to produce that result.

II. Second Thoughts On Flexible Response

One of the most important efforts of the Kennedy administration has been to subject military strategy—and particularly nuclear weapons—to political control not only before hostilities but during military operations as well. The previous notion had been that if deterrence failed there was no logical stopping place.

The Kennedy administration has rightly insisted that when the lives of tens of millions are at stake, military operations cannot be left to their own momentum. It has sought by various devices to ensure that strategy would remain at the service of policy even during hostilities. ". . . We are now arranging our forces, and making our strategic plans," said the President's Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, McGeorge Bundy, on February 16, "on such a basis that even if . . . there should be some nuclear exchange, we might be able to make such choices of action that it would *still* be deeply in the interest of the other side to refrain from further attack."

The important objective of flexible response has, however, been pushed by the Defense Department and in our NATO policy to such extreme and one-sided conclusions that it threatens the cohesion of the Western Alliance. In the process, it has become identified with another strategic notion—that of controlled-counterforce general war. This theory is the product of a series of studies conducted at the RAND Corporation during the 1950's under the direction of Albert Wohlstetter. Wohlstetter and his colleagues effectively argued that there was nothing automatic about the nuclear stalemate. On the contrary, the balance of terror was "delicate," depending on such factors as the vulnerability of the bases of the retaliatory force,

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the relative state of active and passive defense, and the ability to reach enemy targets.

Nuclear superiority was a meaningful concept even in the age of nuclear plenty. A general war could be won or lost by the destruction of the opposing retaliatory force. This goal would be significant even if we suffered a surprise attack. In that case, by destroying the weapons earmarked for a second attack we could reduce damage and greatly improve our bargaining position.

This subtle theory has been accepted almost completely by Secretary McNamara—and not by accident. For many of his key advisers are RAND "alumni" and had helped work out the Wohlstetter doctrine.

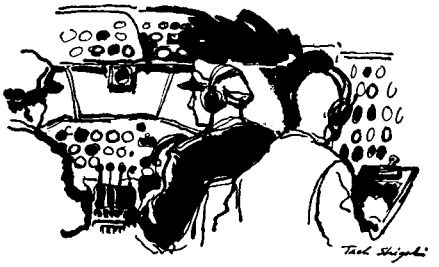
By October, 1961, Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell L. Gilpatric asserted that we possessed nuclear superiority. In January, 1962, Secretary McNamara spelled this out to the Senate Armed Services Committee: "We conclude there is no question but that today our strategic retaliatory forces—bombers, missiles, and Polaris—are fully capable of destroying the Soviet target system even after absorbing an inital nuclear surprise attack . . . and without any help from the deployed tactical air units or carrier task forces which, of course, have the capability for attacking those targets with nuclear weapons."

This statement had two implications: (1) it was possible to win a general war even by striking second; (2) nuclear weapons deployed overseas were not essential to our strategy. The skepticism toward nuclear weapons deployed overseas extended to tactical nuclear weapons as well. "I, for one, have never believed in a so-called limited nuclear war," said Mr. Gilpatric. "I just don't know how you build a limit into it once you start using any kind of nuclear bang."

WITH ANY nuclear war likely to be all-out, what was the U.S. strategy for such a conflict? "Our forces can be used in several different ways," said Secretary McNamara early in 1962. "We may have to retaliate with a single massive attack. Or we may be able to use our retaliatory force to limit damage to ourselves before [the enemy] have launched his second salvos. We may seek to terminate a war on favorable terms by using our force as a bargaining weapon—by threatening further attack . . ." These pronouncements culminated in Secretary McNamara's famous speech at Ann Arbor in June, 1962, where he declared that "to the extent feasible, basic military strategy in a possible general nuclear war should be approached in much the same way that more conventional military operations have been conducted in the past. That is to say, principal military objectives . . . should be the destruction of the enemy's military forces, not of his civilian population."

To pursue this strategy, all nuclear weapons of the Alliance had to be under tight control, indeed under a single command, which in effect meant U.S. command. ". . . We have consistently stressed the importance of a single, integrated strategic nuclear force responsive to a single chain of command, to be employed in a fully integrated manner against what is truly an indivisible target system," Secretary McNamara reported to the House Armed Services Committee on January 30, 1963.

The McNamara doctrine, for all its subtlety, contained many ambiguities. For example, Secretary



McNamara has never clarified which he considered more important: the attempt to spare cities or the effort to destroy the Soviet retaliatory force. He could mean that in case of general nuclear war we would attempt to spare cities but would destroy known strategic bases located near them. Or else he could have in mind that we would avoid hitting even military targets if attacking them involved a probability of heavy civilian casualties.

If the first interpretation is accepted, the practical difference between the McNamara strategy and the traditional notions of massive retaliation may be relatively slight, for it is likely that many Soviet strategic bases are located close to nearby populated cities. At the same time, a Soviet disarming attack would have to seek to destroy all airports capable of handling strategic bombers, including civilian airports. Vast civilian casualties would therefore be inevitable. This in turn is bound to affect our own choice of targets.

If, on the other hand, the McNamara doctrine implies that we would spare Soviet cities in all circumstances provided that the Soviets do likewise, a nuclear stalemate is the likely consequence. If the Soviets spare our cities, they will not be able to destroy our retaliatory force. If we spare Soviet cities, a great part of their force may survive.

THE MOST PLAUSIBLE interpretation of the McNamara theory, then, is that the need to disarm the opponent will transcend the incentive to spare cities. However, during the 1960's, the reliability of even such a notion of counterforce strategy is certain to decline. As the retaliatory forces multiply and become more dispersed, it will grow increasingly difficult to pinpoint the targets precisely or to give the President enough confidence that their exact location is known, which amounts to the same thing.

Moreover, as missile systems become more diversified and sophisticated, some will be hardened as underground installations, some will be mobile on land, others at sea. This will enormously complicate the problem of co-ordinating an attack.

Thus, even if the proportion of the Soviet retaliatory force we were able to destroy were to remain constant—an unwarrantedly optimistic assumption—the absolute number remaining is bound to increase. Whatever its technical feasibility, there are bound to be increasing political and psychological obstacles to a strategy that is based on fragmentary intelligence and that depends on large numbers of weapons for which there is no operational experience in wartime.

Moreover, the early formulations of the McNamara doctrine had the curious consequence of casting into

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

doubt our nuclear commitment to NATO—particularly among those Europeans who accepted Mr. McNamara's assurances of our strategic superiority. If our nuclear superiority was as overwhelming as Secretaries McNamara and Gilpatric maintained, the traditional doctrine of the nuclear "sword" and the conventional "shield" would continue to be effective. The Soviet Union would be deterred from a massive attack on Europe, for this would trigger a decisive blow by the U.S. strategic forces. The Soviet Union could not escape this dilemma by means of a simultaneous attack on the United States, for—by Secretary McNamara's hypothesis—this would still lead to the destruction of the entire Soviet target system. If, nevertheless, we reversed the definitions of the "sword" and the "shield," the implication that we were reluctant to use our nuclear superiority in the face of a massive Soviet attack on Europe was, to say the least, conceivable. Our ambivalence about the significance of our proclaimed nuclear superiority was a major factor in creating confusion about our purposes.

The awareness of those ambiguities, both technical and political, has led Secretary McNamara to reformulate his counterforce theory. In his statement to the House Armed Services Committee on January 30, he emphasized that even under conditions of controlled response, a general nuclear war would still produce casualties numbered in the tens of millions. This was because "even if we were to double or triple our forces we would not be able to destroy quickly all or almost all of the hardened ICBM sites. And even if we could do that, we know no way to destroy the enemy's missile-launching submarines at the same time." Secretary McNamara went on to say that our strategic forces were designed to destroy virtually all of the soft and semi-hard military targets in the Soviet Union and a portion of the hardened sites. No significant capability for destroying missile-carrying submarines would be developed.

With respect to other NATO nuclear forces, Secretary McNamara emphasized that they would have to be integrated into a single command with ours in order to make possible an instant response. The President reiterated these requirements in his press conference of February 14 and added that the decision to retaliate might have to be made in five minutes.

The new version of the McNamara strategy has removed some of the previous ambiguities, but it has raised a host of new ones. For it is not clear now just what the purpose of our retaliation is to be. Secretary McNamara mentions only one "scenario" for general nuclear war. This, significantly, is not a full-scale attack on Europe, but a nuclear attack on the United States.

GIVEN the disparity in the size of strategic forces between the Soviet Union and the United States, it is hard to see what would induce even a rash Soviet planner into so reckless a course. According to Secretary McNamara's testimony of January 30, our capability after absorbing a first blow should be sufficient "to strike back first at the Soviet bomber bases, missile sites, and other military installations associated with their long-range nuclear forces to reduce the power of any follow-on attack—and then if necessary, strike back at the Soviet urban and industrial complex in a controlled and deliberate way."

A U.S. strategic force that can absorb a Soviet surprise attack, strike back at Soviet military targets, and still be sufficiently strong to attack urban centers in a deliberate way must be enormously superior to the Soviets'. Moreover, most of our ICBMs will be in hardened sites and the Polaris will be mobile at sea. It is almost impossible to imagine circumstances in which the Soviets would launch an all-out attack on such a force. It is not inconceivable that the Soviets will act with reckless foolishness; but it is not wise to base all of U.S. and NATO strategy on what might easily be a very special contingency.

But assuming the unlikely eventuality of a Soviet first strike against the United States, Secretary McNamara's latest testimony leaves the targets of our retaliatory blow far from obvious. He has emphasized that we could not destroy many of the hardened Soviet sites and practically none of the missile-carrying submarines. Presumably, however, the Soviets would have launched their missiles from the soft sites in their first attack. This would leave empty airbases for our retaliatory "counterforce" blow—and airplanes will not for long constitute a major portion of the Soviet retaliatory force.

Moreover, Secretary McNamara implies that because we are numerically superior and therefore in a position to spare Soviet cities, the Soviets will have what he calls an "incentive" to spare ours. Of course, Soviet military theorists have consistently denied the possibility of the kind of war outlined by Secretary McNamara. This would not be decisive were it not in accord with the realities of the strategic equation. For a war of attrition, even if it were technically feasible, cannot be in the interest of the weaker side. As we reduced the Soviet retaliatory force, the sensible strategy for the Soviets would be to begin attacking our cities, perhaps "controlling" their response by destroying some smaller towns first. To be sure, we could retaliate in kind. But whatever the significance of the notion of superiority in a war confined to military targets, there can be little doubt that a saturation point is soon reached when civilian populations become the objective.

This is why our allies have been so unenthusiastic about Secretary McNamara's argument that national nuclear forces are dangerous because they are unsuitable for discriminating targeting. As he has frequently pointed out, the Soviet delivery vehicles aimed at Europe far exceed in number those deployed against the United States. He has also emphasized that even a "controlled" nuclear war would produce far greater casualties in Europe than in the United States—in other words, casualties exceeding the tens of millions estimated for North America. In these conditions, the prospect of "controlling" general war cannot be an incentive to the Europeans to give up their own nuclear programs; the contrary is likely to be the case.

In short, what started out as a quest for maximum flexibility has produced a new form of rigidity. We have polarized options between con-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ventional war and a kind of general war that with every passing year will acquire the very characteristics of uncontrollable massiveness we have tried to avoid.

The McNamara doctrine in fact confuses the highly desirable objective of invulnerability and effective political control with a strategy that has as its chief objective the destruction of the opposing retaliatory force. If both sides achieve the kind of invulnerability that Secretary McNamara has postulated, the counterforce strategy envisaged in our public pronouncements will become less and less reliable. In such circumstances, Secretary McNamara's "scenario" is much too one-dimensional. With a well-protected force, there should be much more time available than the five minutes mentioned by the President to respond to Soviet moves. Quick time of delivery should not be confused with hair-trigger response. On the contrary, it is to our interest—apart from considerations of Alliance policy—to give policymakers the maximum amount of time for considering their response. Political control over nuclear weapons does not require U.S. hegemony over all nuclear weapons within the Alliance.

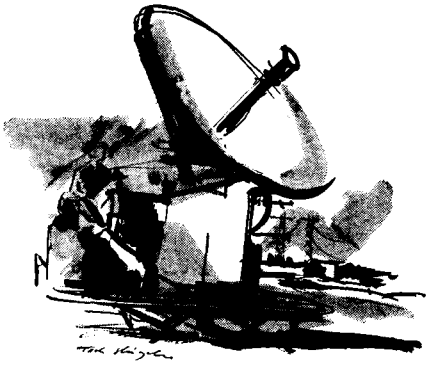
A rich country like ours may be able to afford protection against even remote contingencies. If there is even a small possibility of saving millions of lives, it should be taken. But it is one thing to develop an option for controlled general war; it is quite another to subordinate all our NATO policy to preparation for this contingency.

The insistence on a single nuclear force under U.S. control for the entire Alliance has come to appear as a U.S. effort to dictate not only allied strategy once war has started but also the decision of when and where to fight a nuclear war. The tendency to treat the members of the Alliance as subsidiaries of a large corporation has turned interallied dialogue into a shrill debate over abstractions. Our quest for technical options—reflecting the subordination of the State Department to the Defense Department—has limited the range of our political choices. This is why the new strategy has led to what is probably the most serious crisis in NATO's history.

III. The Case for National Nuclear Forces

The nature of the crisis is underlined by the inability of the two sides to agree on what really is in dispute. We have called national nuclear forces—particularly the French effort—divisive, inimical to the West, based on distrust of the United States, and prone to obsolescence. It has been said that the French nuclear program is based on a rejection of the interdependence of the Atlantic Community.

The French have not helped matters by pressing their own arguments with a kind of Cartesian rationalism that sometimes threatens to turn valid arguments into parodies. It is one thing to argue the undeniable fact that in the age of nuclear plenty the old notions of nuclear protection must be modified and that a redistribution of responsibilities on nuclear matters is required. It is quite another to insist that this ends all possibility of one country's coming to the assistance of another. Both sides have had a tendency to set up straw men for debating purposes: the French, the bogy of our complete unreliability; the United States, the futility of the French quest for complete self-sufficiency. In demonstrating that France—or Great Britain—cannot win a nuclear war by itself, we have neglected to examine the more sensible arguments on behalf of European nuclear power. And we have shown little understanding of the political and psychological motives behind the French and British nuclear programs.



Our new strategic doctrine, for all its subtlety, does confront our allies with serious dilemmas. It *is* difficult to decide at what point the effort to develop a tolerable strategy not only enhances the credibility of the response but also lowers the risks of the aggressor to an acceptable level.

Few Europeans agree with our judgment about the feasibility of a purely conventional defense. Most of them believe that a great gap in conventional power exists and that we have adjusted our intelligence estimates to fit our strategic preference. Their judgment may be mistaken, but we must remember that we have no advantage in experience over the Europeans in the analysis of conventional war.

In any event, Europeans have too many memories of the defeat of supposedly adequate conventional forces not to ask what happens if our assessment turns out to be mistaken. Even those who favor as a more modest goal a "pause" before nuclear weapons are used—and they are not in a majority—must be concerned about the options available at the end of that pause.

But the acceptance of our goal of non-nuclear defense and the theory behind it still does not remove all pressures for the development of European nuclear strength. Europeans are bound to want to have a share in determining their fate if the Soviets do not follow the strategy preferred by the United States. What if the Soviets use nuclear weapons on Europe only? Even more, what if they use them on Europe in the controlled, flexible way recommended by Secretary McNamara? It is a great deal to ask of the Europeans to concentrate all their military efforts on weapons that can be overcome by the introduction of nuclear arms while the United States reserves control over the weapons at any level of conflict that is not purely conventional. Such a situation would be made to order for Soviet "nuclear blackmail."

Words like "nuclear interdependence" should not obscure the fact that there is an inevitable difference of perspective between ourselves and some of our allies. If the NATO area is looked on as a unit, a strategy that exposes a limited territory to the fluctuations of conventional combat may seem eminently

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

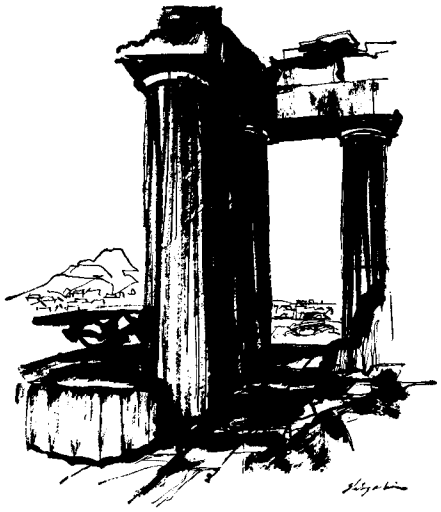
sensible. To the allies on whose territory such a war would be fought, however, a Soviet penetration of even a hundred miles might well spell the end of their national existence. They have compelling incentive to strive for a strategy that poses the threat of maximum devastation for the Soviets. Europeans are almost inevitably more concerned with deterrence than with defense. They will prefer a strategy that seems to magnify the risks of the aggressor rather than reduce the losses of the defender.

Of course an improvement in NATO's conventional capability is desirable. But as in the nuclear field, we have pushed valid arguments to such extremes as to defeat our objective. The notion of a purely conventional defense of Europe goes much further than arguing for an improved capability to resist Soviet local pressures. It has the paradoxical consequence of removing the incentive for a conventional build-up as well as raising the nuclear issue in an acute form.

In this context, such statements as Under Secretary Ball's to the NATO parliamentarians last November are extraordinarily double-edged. Secretary Ball argued that the Cuban crisis proved the importance of superiority in conventional weapons. It was fortunate that the Cuban crisis occurred in an area of overwhelming U.S. conventional superiority. But most Europeans are convinced that in Europe the reverse relationship obtains. They tend to draw two lessons from the Cuban episode: that they were faced with nuclear war without being consulted and that a settlement was made by the two nuclear powers without the participation of Cuba—the country which was most concerned but which possessed conventional weapons only.

The incentive for nuclear forces thus cannot be assessed entirely in terms of military operations. The issue of peace and war does not arise in terms of either-or. There are many intermediate stages where a country's bargaining position depends on the risks to which it can expose an aggressor. To some of our European allies it appears that even a small nuclear force is more effective for this bargaining purpose than a few more divisions, whose effectiveness in every case depends entirely on a solid allied front, thus in effect giving a veto to the least resolute ally.

During the Berlin crisis it was often said that since the United States has the entire responsibility



for nuclear defense, we would reserve the right to negotiate even without the consent of our allies. (President Kennedy made this quite clear, for example, in his press conference of May 9, 1962). And last October, McGeorge Bundy wrote: "Outside the nuclear field, in which mutual understanding must include the present fact of our special responsibility, our claims upon our allies can be entrusted to the formula of reciprocity." In these terms, our allies have an incentive to develop national nuclear forces not only to bargain with the Soviet Union but also to gain a greater influence over *our* actions.

Since the chief impetus for the European nuclear programs derives from intangibles of political and psychological influence, it is immature to turn the issue into a personal debate about the integrity of the assurances of a particular President. For the Europeans to forgo national nuclear programs would be to resign forever from a realm of technology on which their future security and indeed their economic welfare will depend to a greater or lesser extent. It would mean entrusting their fate not to this President but to all future Presidents, and not only on clear-cut issues of war and peace but with respect to every nuance of policy. In effect, this would transform Europe from a partner into a satellite.

Apart from the moral issue this raises, Europe has had too many recent proofs of the inability of one President to commit another not to want some means of determining its own fate. The change in emphasis in U.S. strategic thinking over the past two years, the peremptory way in which we canceled Skybolt, withdrew the Jupiter bases, and altered the strategic doctrine of NATO, indicates that no President can possibly predict the judgments of his successors in an age of extraordinarily volatile technology.

BUT THE PROBLEM goes deeper still. Europeans, living on a continent covered with ruins testifying to the fallibility of human foresight, feel in their bones that history is more complicated than systems analysis. They have had too much experience with the nuances of interpretation that are possible with all formal commitments. They know that in this century no person, however wise, could have predicted at the beginning of any decade what the world would be like at its end. They do not believe that they must be able to describe the exact circumstances in which they might have to rely on their nuclear forces in order to wish to reserve some degree of control over their destiny.

Our frequently expressed outrage at the seeming European doubt about the reliability of our nuclear guarantee has blinded us to the fact that we have in effect accused our allies of being too irresponsible to be entrusted with the ultimate means for their protection. The asymmetry—to use a favorite word of the new strategic analysis—between the two kinds of distrust is pronounced. For if the Europeans are wrong, the chief penalty is a certain duplication of effort; while if they are right, our policy would seal their fate.

Our arguments that we oppose European nuclear efforts because they are useless tend to be overdone even on the purely technical plane. A few hundred British and a few score French delivery vehicles cannot be without some impact on Soviet calculations. The Soviets cannot launch a pre-emptive attack against

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

these forces even if their bases are vulnerable. As long as the NATO guarantee retains any validity, such an attack would involve an immense risk of U.S. retaliation—as the President pointed out with respect to the NATO nuclear force in his press conference of March 6. And in launching other forms of attack the Soviets must surely consider whether the objective is worth the very large—even if not decisive—casualties that could be inflicted by the British and French retaliatory forces. The real basis of our opposition to national nuclear forces, then, is not so much their ineffectiveness as the fact that we do not want to be drawn into nuclear war against our will.

Of course this concern casts a curious light on our frequently repeated assertions that no difference in the conceptions of vital interests between us and Europe is possible. Above all, the fear that France and Great Britain may prove more reckless than we can only be based on a misunderstanding. They must know—perhaps better than we—that using their forces independently would be a desperate last resort, though we can hardly expect them to advertise this fact. Whatever they may say now, they will learn that they must think of their nuclear forces much as Sweden and Switzerland think of their armies. Neither country is able to withstand a full-scale attack by a major power. Both would prefer allies in such a case. Their military forces do give them the possibility of posing risks that an aggressor may consider out of proportion to the objectives to be achieved. And they may gain time for allied assistance to be effective.

The frequent insinuations that those of our allies developing nuclear programs *prefer* to do without the Alliance are the result of a grave misapprehension. Taking out fire insurance does not indicate a liking for fires. On the contrary, it may prevent a remote contingency from turning into an obsession and thus free energies for more constructive tasks.

WE THUS REACH the heart of the issue raised by European nuclear forces. Does the interdependence of the Atlantic area have to be vindicated by a structure in which only one ally possesses the physical ability to engage in nuclear war? Is the test of Atlantic partnership really a "single strategic force" integrated into a "single chain of command," as Secretary McNamara asserts? Or is it possible to have several centers of decision co-ordinated politically so that their power serves a common end?

After all, one of two things is likely to happen with respect to European nuclear power: either our allies will realize the importance of co-ordinating their forces with ours,

or they will assume the major burden of their own defense, which is what we have always said we wanted. All considerations of technology, strategy, and policy indicate that the former is by far the more likely outcome. Our allies—if they understand their own interests—will always prefer the assistance of our enormous nuclear arsenal. This has been our experience with Great Britain. It is likely to be our experience with France, if we ever get away from scholastic arguments over the relative merits of "integration" and "co-ordination" and face practical issues of how to relate a French nuclear force to the common defense.

A policy of confidence in our European allies is all the more necessary because the range of our control over events is extremely limited. A British strategic force exists. A French nuclear program has been in operation for nearly a decade. Attempts to atrophy them are liable to lead to the most extreme formulations of strategic doctrine and to the most dangerous, because vulnerable, strategic design. Or else, if we succeed, we may well discredit not a particular defense policy but *all* attempts to assume responsibility for national defense. Then we will have brought about the kind of Third Force that should really worry us: one based on the resentments of the impotent and relying on the manipulations of the irresponsible. Not everyone who gives us no trouble will give us support. This is illustrated by the contrasting behavior of President de Gaulle and Premier Fanfani during the Cuban crisis. The former backed us without reservation; the latter adopted an essentially noncommittal policy.

To be sure, many of the formulations on behalf of European nuclear forces have been extreme and one-sided. A rudimentary technology has produced an often crude strategic doctrine. But these theories are subject to the same evolutionary process as they have been in the United States. We should not judge a mature European program by its beginnings—which, moreover, are needlessly protracted by our opposition.

The real problem is whether we are ready to face an independent European center for decision on nuclear matters, and rely on political consultations to relate European purposes to ours.

So far, we have indicated a preference for continued hegemony. Terms like "multilateralism" and "interdependence" have hidden the reality of an attempt to maintain undivided physical control—which in terms of our strategic doctrine has to mean U.S. control. Given European pressures in the opposite direction, this policy has forced us to adopt remedies more dangerous than the ill they have sought to cure. We have purchased brief respites in allied disputes by mortgaging the future. Almost every program that we have advanced in the name of our notion of multilateralism has had the practical consequence of accentuating rather than ameliorating NATO's nuclear dilemma, and therefore it has undermined the long-term political stability of the Atlantic Alliance.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IV. Proposed United States Remedies: The Creation of a Multilateral Force

The administration has adopted three policies in pursuit of its goal of a single, centrally controlled nuclear force for the Alliance.

(a) It has indicated increasing willingness to permit Europeans to share in the targeting of our strategic forces, which remain almost entirely under our exclusive control.

(b) It has "assigned" nuclear submarines to NATO subject to agreed NATO guidelines.

(c) It has pushed—ambivalently and with various degrees of intensity—the creation of a NATO multilateral force.

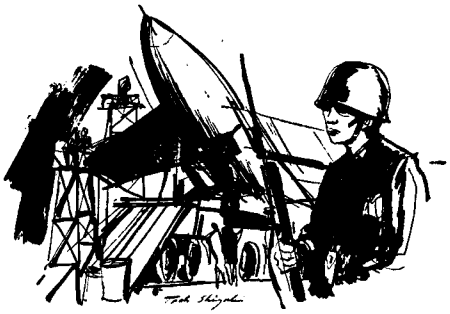
Of these steps, the first is constructive even if it does not go to the heart of the problem. It is no doubt highly desirable for Europeans to know of the targeting of our strategic forces and to participate in planning. Joint targeting does not, however, alter the United States monopoly position. To some extent, it meets the interests of all allies in a common war plan. It does not solve the far more important problem of political control, specifically the decision to enter nuclear war.

As for the assignment of Polaris submarines to NATO, this measure was first announced by President Kennedy in Ottawa in May, 1961. It was then repeated with considerable dramatic effect by Secretary McNamara at the NATO ministerial meeting in Athens last year. At that time, it was stated that five Polaris submarines had been "assigned" to NATO, with more to come. In his report to the House Armed Services Committee on January 30, 1963, Secretary McNamara pointed out that we had "earmarked a fully operational Polaris force to the NATO Command."

However, it is important to understand what this "earmarking" consists of. All forces in NATO are national forces. The line of command of U.S. forces runs from Washington through the appropriate U.S. headquarters. NATO headquarters are planning outfits that control forces "assigned" to them only during specified maneuvers or in war. Each ally, of course, retains the right to go to war according to its own constitutional processes.

With respect to Polaris forces, the line of command runs from Washton to the U.S. Commander-in-Chief, Atlantic. The same admiral is also NATO Supreme Allied Commander, Atlantic.

The practical effect of the "assignment" of Polaris to NATO is that the admiral involved can give orders in his capacity as NATO commander to himself in his capacity as United States commander. Whatever hat the admiral wears, the President continues in ultimate control of our Polaris force. Our veto remains absolute. The influence of our allies over the targeting and planning of this force is not noticeably greater than over those strategic forces which remain under exclusive U.S. control—particularly if Europeans can participate in the targeting of the latter. In other words, the "assignment" of the Polaris force to NATO is largely symbolic.



In fact, the influence of our European allies on nuclear strategy has actually diminished with respect to the three Polaris submarines "assigned" to the Mediterranean to replace the Jupiter missiles in Italy and Turkey. The Jupiter missiles were subject to the double-veto system; that is to say, Italy and Turkey had to agree before the Jupiters could be fired. The only influence Italy and Turkey will have over the Polaris submarines in the Mediterranean is through NATO guidelines, if these can be agreed upon.

The notion of guidelines presents serious problems of its own. Are they to be conceived as a kind of contingency plan for the employment of nuclear weapons, *provided* the governments concerned agree to implement these plans? Or are they to be considered a delegation of authority to use nuclear weapons in certain specified contingencies without further reference to political authority?

If guidelines are to be interpreted in the former sense—as a form of contingency war plan—they are another version of the joint targeting previously described. But in that case it is not clear why a formal assignment to NATO was necessary or how the NATO-committed Polaris forces are to be distinguished from our other strategic forces.

If, on the other hand, the guidelines are to determine not the targets but the circumstances in which nuclear weapons are to be used, serious problems would arise. A guideline so conceived not only includes; it also excludes. It defines not only when nuclear weapons are to be employed but also the circumstances when they will not be used. It is possible that the only contingency in which all the allies would agree in advance is a massive Soviet nuclear attack on Europe—the circumstances about which there is likely to be least doubt and where the seeming need for prior specification may only magnify uncertainties. In short, if the guidelines are too vague, they may multiply concerns; if an attempt is made to be too specific, they will magnify divisions.

Whatever else the guidelines may accomplish, they will not affect the United States veto or, for that matter, the right of any of the other allies to determine whether the circumstances to which the guideline refers have in fact arisen. At the same time, predelegation of authority to use nuclear weapons either to the secretary-general of NATO or to some allied commander or to both acting in concert—as has sometimes been suggested—would represent an unprecedented abdication of Constitutional responsibilities. It is difficult to see any President or Prime Minister agreeing to this step. If it were taken, it is certain that the predelegation of authority would be con-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fined to the most obvious and unambiguous cases of nuclear aggression, raising uncertainties about the ambiguous cases that have caused much greater worries. In short, guidelines have the uses and limitations of joint targeting; they are only a small step in the direction of solving NATO's nuclear dilemma.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS come to a particular focus with respect to the keystone of our NATO nuclear policy: the NATO multilateral force composed of mixed crews. This proposal has had a checkered history. It was first advanced for study by former Secretary of State Christian Herter in December, 1960. It was then cold-shouldered in the first few months of the Kennedy administration. Then in May, 1961, at Ottawa, President Kennedy announced a willingness to consider "a NATO sea-borne missile force, which would be truly multilateral in ownership and control . . ." Our European allies were invited to make proposals to this end.

Given the fact that none of our allies possessed sea-borne nuclear systems and that a command and control system even for a national force is not a simple matter, the probability that our allies would come up with a meaningful control system was not great. Indeed, many believed that the problem would be recognized as insoluble. Our allies were then expected to ask the President to act as executive agent of the Alliance with respect to nuclear weapons.

When this did not happen, the United States a year later again offered to consider a NATO nuclear force, provided our allies first built up their conventional forces and came up with an acceptable control system. Since the control problem had not become any easier and since most of our allies were dubious about the need for the kind of conventional build-up we were proposing, it was not clear whether our proposal was put forward in order to be accepted or to be rejected.

Three months later, in September, 1962, McGeorge Bundy spoke in terms of a multilateral *European* force: "It . . . would be wrong to suppose that the reluctance which we feel with respect to individual, ineffective, and antiquated forces would be extended automatically to a European force, genuinely unified and multilateral, and effectively integrated with our own necessarily predominant strength in the whole nuclear defense of the Alliance." This speech said nothing about what we understood by "multilateral," "integrated," or "unified."

Two months later, Under Secretary of State George Ball returned to the theme of a NATO force. He argued that we thought "a European nuclear contribution" to NATO militarily unnecessary. However, "should other NATO nations so desire, we are ready to give serious consideration to the creation of a genuinely multilateral Medium-Range Ballistic Missile force fully co-ordinated with the other deterrent forces in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

At the regular NATO ministerial conference in December, 1962, nothing was done about the creation of a NATO multilateral force. A week later, on December 21, President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan signed the Nassau Agreement, which provided for two multilateral forces: one that would absorb the strategic forces of Great Britain and France together with a United States contribution of nationally owned submarines; another in which the non-nuclear countries of NATO would create a truly multilateral Polaris force, which was later explained to mean that it would be jointly financed, owned, planned, manned, and operated.

Nothing was said about how either multilateral force was to be controlled, deployed, or targeted. On January 10, prior to President de Gaulle's press conference, Under Secretary Ball was back in Paris to explain to the NATO Council that the multilateral NATO force that he had declared militarily unnecessary in November was now a high priority goal of the Kennedy administration. Indeed, he was reported to have suggested that the United States was ready to begin training submarine crews of mixed national composition immediately.

This sequence of events is important to keep in mind because it might well have led even political leaders less suspicious of U.S. motives than President de Gaulle to doubt whether we really had a "grand design" or whether we were not simply offering palliatives to perpetuate our hegemony.

In any event, after President de Gaulle's press conference, the multilateral force composed of the presently non-nuclear powers was pushed energetically. "Informed sources" were quoted as having said that we would create a force so strong that the Federal Republic of Germany in particular would see that the advantages of our notion of multilateralism far exceeded any benefits to be gained by association with France.

In order to thwart French nuclear pretensions, we proposed to create a counterweight by bringing some of the non-nuclear European countries into the nuclear field. The already difficult issue of multilateral control has thus become further complicated because we have made membership in the "mixed" force a test of Atlantic solidarity. Livingston Merchant was appointed to carry out the negotiations to bring this force into being.

SINCE THEN, the U.S. position has continued to shift. We have recently indicated that surface ships are a better solution than submarines. Secretary McNamara and President Kennedy have spoken of both a European and a NATO multilateral force. But the practical requirements they impose make the distinction elusive. They agree that any NATO force must be "integrated" with our strategic forces; there must be a single chain of command and a single finger on the trigger. In the light of Secretary McNamara's strategic theories, this must mean that either a European or a NATO nuclear force has to be under ultimate U.S. command. "The American representatives also will make it clear," the New York *Times* reported on February 27, "that there will be only one finger on the trigger of any nuclear

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

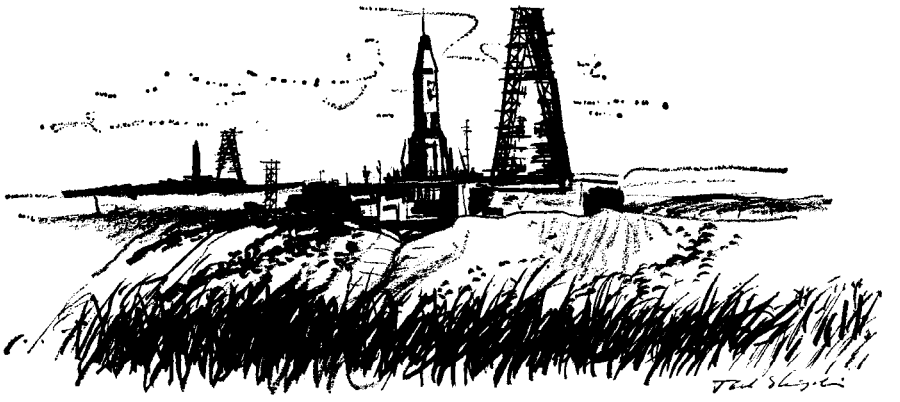
force established by NATO. It will be that of the President of the United States."

In giving multilateralism this definition, we are trying to defend Atlantic solidarity on an issue and with a solution certain to magnify allied disagreements in the long run. The valid and important concept of interdependence can only be discredited by association with schemes that deprive our allies of the physical possibility of independent action while we reserve this right for ourselves. U.S. dominance in the nuclear field may be a desirable solution from our point of view—though it is apt to prove shortsighted. But we should not call such an arrangement a partnership, and we must recognize that it will generate rather than alleviate pressures for change.

At the moment, the political constellation of Europe prohibits an articulation of this problem, perhaps even its clear recognition. Great Britain, though in practice striving to retain a nuclear independence very similar to France's, cannot afford any further controversy. Nevertheless, the much-heralded "assignment" of the British V-bomber force to NATO has had the same significance as our previous "earmarking" of Polaris submarines. It was a symbolic act, that did not diminish British control. It is not clear whether the assignment of national forces represents the total British contribution to NATO's nuclear arsenal. But Britain's national program can leave resources for only a token contribution to the multilateral force composed of mixed crews.

As for the other allies, West Germany has seen in agreement to a multilateral NATO force of mixed crews an opportunity to reassure us about Atlantic solidarity and to enter the nuclear field. The other European countries that have agreed to participate—at last report Italy, Belgium, and, perhaps, the Netherlands—are more likely to do so to keep an eye on Germany than because of strategic convictions.

Indeed, any reflection about the structure of the multilateral force composed of mixed crews gives us as much reason to worry about the allies that agree to join as about those who refuse. For one thing, the requirement of mixed manning is a symptom of distrust, since the chief reason is to prevent any national government from withdrawing part of the force. Is every national contingent to receive separate instructions before the missiles can be fired?



No wonder nearly all the military commanders, U.S. as well as allied, regard mixed manning with extreme distaste.

Apart from the problem of what may be termed control by the threat of mutiny, it is difficult to see just what would be achieved by the proposed force. According to Secretary McNamara's testimony, it cannot be used independently of our much larger forces. In any event we would presumably keep control over the nuclear warheads of the NATO multilateral force—according to the McMahon Act, we would have no other choice. Even if the law were changed with respect to the physical control over warheads, the problem of the veto would remain.

If we retain the veto, one of two things would happen. If we decided to engage in nuclear war and our allies refused, we would use the Strategic Air Command and our entire Polaris force, including that part of it "assigned" to NATO. If the situation were reversed—that is, if our allies wished to use nuclear weapons and we disagreed—neither the NATO force nor SAC could operate.

CAN WE GIVE UP the veto? It is not easy to see how a country can abdicate so fateful a decision to a majority vote of allies, no matter how close. The Constitutional issue would surely be formidable.

Moreover, what would giving up the veto commit us to? Does it mean that we would not obstruct the utilization of the NATO force in which we participate? In terms of Secretary McNamara's testimony, this partial employment of nuclear power is what must in all circumstances be avoided. In any event, it is difficult to imagine making a commitment to go to nuclear war indirectly and with only the smallest part of our forces.

But if we agree to go to war with our entire nuclear arsenal, what is the point of creating a NATO force? Then it would be wiser to create a political control body for the Alliance as a whole and agree to go to war on the basis of whatever majority vote seems indicated. (Such a commitment would probably still not meet the need. Even under existing arrangements, we could refuse to aid our allies if we are reluctant to honor our NATO commitments, and that situation would not change under the new scheme.)

It has also been reported that the United States is willing to accept a European commander for the proposed multilateral force. But this is either a palliative or a source of concern. If political control is effective, the veto will remain regardless of the nationality of the commander. If political control is not reliable, we would be in a position of showing more confidence in a European military man than in the constitutionally established leadership. Unauthorized use is likely to be a particular problem in an organization deliberately constructed so that its members can have no primary allegiance to any of the established political entities.

WHAT OF the argument that the proposed NATO force could in time be transformed into a European force if our allies request it? We

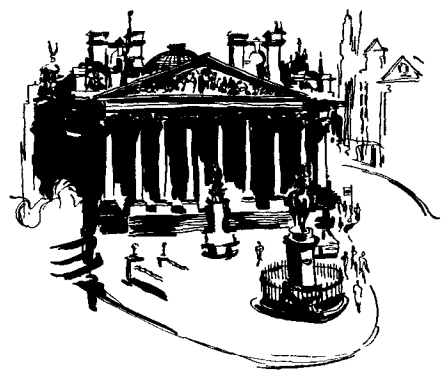
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have repeatedly hinted at our willingness to consider this prospect. However, there are two major obstacles. The first is our strategic doctrine. Our insistence on a unified command, a single target system, and the need for instant response is as inconsistent with a separate European force as with national forces.

Even if we are prepared to change our strategic doctrine, serious problems would remain. The only way a NATO force as now conceived could be transformed into a European one would be for our allies to ask us to withdraw from it. This would defeat the prime purpose of many of the smaller countries in joining the force: to demonstrate Atlantic solidarity. Such a step, even if it were politically feasible, is much more likely to accentuate allied divisions than beginning with an explicitly European program. Moreover, as long as France is not part of a NATO force and Britain's contribution is token only, any attempt to turn it into a European force will raise the specter of German domination and thus create powerful antagonisms in other European countries.

It can be argued, of course, that the fear of German domination will make Britain and France more eager to join the multilateral force. This is doubtful. But even if it were correct, such a process of arriving at a European force would be extremely worrisome. It would be better for the long-term stability and cohesiveness of Europe if West Germany joined a Franco-British program than for Britain and France to be obliged to seek membership in a grouping of which Germany is the senior European partner. History has been altered by smaller nuances.

This suggests the need to reexamine another of the assumptions behind our advocacy of the NATO force. The NATO force is often said to be a device to avoid the issue of nuclear weapons in German hands. The contrary is likely to be the case. The multilateral force as now conceived may wind up by frustrating every member. If West Germany is seriously interested in acquiring strategic weapons, the multilateral force is apt to prove only an interim step and may turn out to be the easiest way of getting Germany into the nuclear business. The danger in the multilateral force is that those who want effective control over their nuclear destiny will not long remain content with the projected arrangements, while those who go along for such motives as pleasing us, defying France, or keeping an eye on



Germany will soon grow tired of the expense and will search for other options.

This becomes apparent when the financial implications of our proposals are examined. The number of missiles most frequently mentioned for the NATO nuclear force is three hundred. It is interesting that this represents four times the delivery vehicles of the French Mirage force and three times that of the projected British Polaris force. We are in the curious position of opposing the existing national nuclear forces, but in order to thwart them we are engaged in diffusing an even larger number of weapons to a group of countries not now in the nuclear business and with no immediate prospect of entering it.

The cost of a fleet of Polaris submarines is estimated at more than $1 billion a year, or an increase of twelve per cent in the defense spending of the participating countries. A fleet of merchant ships has been estimated to cost upwards of $500 million, or an increase of seven per cent. And as the technical problems of placing Polaris missiles on merchant ships is studied and the requirements for assuring invulnerability are analyzed, the costs are liable to mount.

For this heavy expense, the participants would obtain no significant increase in control over nuclear weapons. Can anyone seriously believe that this can be a permanent state of affairs? Is it not infinitely more likely that after a few years we would face repetitions of our current problem with France in relation to some of the projected members of the NATO nuclear force?

Our present proposals grant the need for a separate force, but they do not grant the equality that would give that force meaning. In a few years, after they have gotten into the nuclear business with our assistance, some of the countries now projected as participants will indeed be much better able to raise the nuclear issue than France is today. They will not have to argue about the possession of nuclear technology—since this will have been conceded—but about the control of a force where their influence is patently out of proportion to their contribution. If we resist these pressures, we may bring about a violent swing toward de Gaulle's conceptions. Nothing is more likely to promote Third Force tendencies in Europe than for us to engage our prestige in pressing for a force which on our own showing makes no sense militarily, does not alter existing control arrangements significantly, yet requires a heavy European financial contribution.

THE multilateral NATO force is thus likely to combine the disadvantage of every course of action. It will not prevent the diffusion of nuclear weapons; it may well accelerate it. It will neither stop the acquisition of nuclear arms by West Germany nor satisfy over any extended period whatever demands may exist there for a greater voice on nuclear matters. It *will* stop the building up of conventional forces, for none of the countries reported ready to join the NATO nuclear force is likely to increase its defense budget beyond the expenditures required for the multilateral force. Among the many inconsistencies of our present position is the simultaneous pressure for the NATO multilateral force and an increase in European conventional strength. The two policies are incompatible.

Finally, the NATO nuclear force will not represent any significant burden-sharing. Since some of the European countries will possess some kind of veto, our strategic planning could not count on the

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATO force. The strategy envisaged by Mr. McNamara would then require us to maintain whatever strategic forces are thought necessary for a U.S. counterforce response—as if the NATO force did not exist.

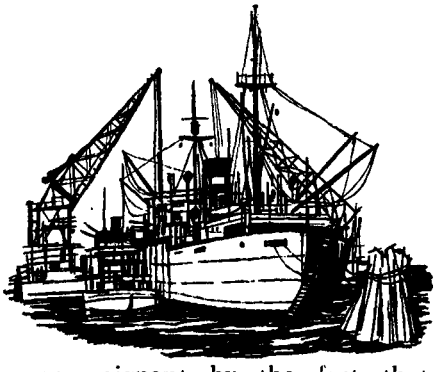
As for other political effects often advertised as the chief, if not the sole, purpose of the NATO nuclear force, allied cohesion is unlikely to be strengthened. On the contrary, Europe will be fragmented even further. France will be isolated, but at a heavy price. We will have shifted the relative weight in Europe toward countries which, while more pliable in the short term, may prove more unstable in the long run. If the influence of West Germany in the multilateral force becomes too great, neutralism may grow in Britain, Scandinavia, and the Low Countries. (The New York *Times* of March 9 reported that the Federal Republic would contribute about two-thirds of the European share of the NATO force, or about forty per cent of the total costs, and that influence in manning and operational control would be proportionate to the financial contribution.)

The effort to isolate France by developing in the nuclear field a structure in which West Gemany would be the key European member may in fact overstrain the fabric of European cohesion and Atlantic solidarity, and also undermine the domestic stability of West Germany. It is in nobody's interest—least of all West Germany's—to set in motion events that can only end with suspicion and concern in most of the countries of the West about Germany's nuclear role. This is bound to aid the Soviet thrust to divide the West through the fear of Germany. A divided country, which in the space of fifty years has lost two wars, experienced three revolutions, suffered two periods of extreme inflation and the trauma of the Nazi era, should not—in its own interest—be placed in a position where, in addition to its inevitable exposure to Soviet pressure, it becomes the balance wheel of our Atlantic policy. We are encouraging tendencies that we may later regret. There must be better ways for West Germany to demonstrate its devotion to the Atlantic Alliance than to become the largest European contributor to a multilateral nuclear force.

THE DANGER of our present course thus goes far beyond disputes about strategic theory. An issue as complicated as the control of nuclear weapons within the Alliance cannot be expected to have a quick or a neat solution. Nevertheless, the frequent and rapid changes of our position undermine our reputation for reliability—whatever the merit of particular proposals.

How can the most well-disposed governments follow our lead when our proposals are in a constant state of flux, moving from indifference to eager advocacy of a NATO force and from submarines to merchant ships all within two months?

Even so staunch a friend as Great Britain must be bewildered. First we abruptly canceled Skybolt. Then Prime Minister Macmillan loyally supported the Nassau Agreement with the argument that the acquisition of Polaris submarines would align Great Britain with our strategic thinking and our NATO conceptions. A month later we proposed that the multilateral NATO force of mixed crews be composed of merchant ships. This leaves Prime Minister Macmillan exposed to the criticism of having purchased an unnecessarily expensive system for Great Britain. It makes us vulnerable to the charge of foisting a second-best system on the Europeans. And the situation is made the



more poignant by the fact that Britain has been asked to join *both* forces.

Our friends do not know what to support. Our opponents are encouraged to exert pressure or at least to procrastinate in order to elicit other offers. Open-mindedness is often a virtue. But we must remember that the leader of a great coalition simply cannot afford to do all of its thinking in public.

To be sure, we are still able to obtain support, partly because we remain the strongest ally and our good will continues vital; partly because many of the smaller European countries have developed a habit of dependence. Our influence is still sufficient to generate domestic pressures in many European countries. But all this is to no avail if the basic direction is mistaken. Then, the domestic forces we encourage may well produce long-term instabilities.

One of the major achievements of American postwar policy has been the growth of a moderate, self-confident Europe that is willing to assume a degree of responsibility for its destiny. We take this so much for granted that we tend to forget how difficult the process has been and how precarious the balance still is in many European countries. In our eagerness to advance our new strategic theories, we have failed to perceive that ultimately success or failure depends on the political forces associated with us.

In this respect, there is reason for serious concern. In too many countries, governments that painfully obtained a commitment to the existing defense programs and to the very concept of NATO find themselves charged with undermining U.S. relationships by those who opposed every step along that road. In several countries, our policies are supported by groups who see in the slogan of Atlantic solidarity a convenient tool to discredit the existing European structure. The Nenni Socialists in Italy have not become converts to our concept of nuclear defense; they halfheartedly support us because they want to retain an option for their favorite schemes of nuclear disengagement. Britain, if it abandons its nuclear program, will not introduce conscription. Conventional defense may be invoked to wreck the nuclear program; the result is much more likely to be a form of neutralism than a conventional build-up. Undermining the major program of an ally must produce upheavals that cannot be measured by purely technical standards.

Our present course may thus encourage simultaneously neutral-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE SOUND ON THIS NEW RCA VICTOR RECORD CHALLENGES COMPARISON WITH THE SOUND ON ANY OTHER RECORD AVAILABLE ON ANY LABEL ANYWHERE

RCA The most trusted name in sound

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HEAR IT! COMPARE IT!

DYNAGROOVE is not a single effort to improve sound. It's a completely new kind of recording—in both stereo and monaural—it's the most significant advance in the recording art since the introduction of the L.P.! A Dynagroove record will deliver to your stereo or monaural phonograph (with no additional equipment) all the clarity, beauty and absolute brilliance of the original performance completely free from distortion.

THREE YEARS IN DEVELOPMENT

The development of the Dynagroove recording process began three years ago with a research program at the RCA Victor studios in New York and the David Sarnoff Research Center in Princeton, N. J.

- New techniques and new equipment for "tuning" both the concert hall and the recording studio were developed.
- Fourteen different kinds of super-sensitive microphones were perfected for selective reproduction of vocal and instrumental solos and groupings.
- High-powered electronic equipment was developed for Dynagroove.
- Additional experimentation led to advances such as doubling the recording speed of original tapes and exclusive new methods of transfer.
- Each of these advances by RCA Victor engineers brought the fidelity of recorded sound to the very brink of "live performance" quality. The art of capturing sound on master tapes had been virtually perfected. One hurdle remained: how to transfer this pure undistorted sound to an L.P. record? The answer: the development of an "electronic brain" which directs the cutting of the groove in the Dynagroove master record.

DYNAMICS OF THE GROOVE

This astonishing "brain" predicts the tracking problems that your phonograph needle will encounter in the record grooves. It eliminates virtually all false turns, unnecessary zig-zags and shocks. For the very first time in the science of recording, your phonograph needle can move in a true dynamic track making the sound from a Dynagroove recording like a clear window which perfectly reveals all the other excellences of the new RCA Victor sound process.

DYNAGROOVE
THE MAGNIFICENT
NEW SOUND
DEVELOPED BY RCA VICTOR

WHAT YOU WILL HEAR

1. TRUE BRILLIANCE AT ALL VOLUME LEVELS. In either stereo or monaural, you will hear the original sound of voices and instruments with startling definition even when played at low volume levels.
2. PERFECTED PRESENCE. You will have the startling impression that you are right inside the concert hall or recording studio itself—whether you play the new Dynagroove records loud *or low* or in-between.
3. GREATER CLARITY. You will notice orchestral passages of such contrast and scope that it will be like hearing familiar musical selections for the first time.
4. REMARKABLE FIDELITY. You will hear without distortion—clean, free sound, *even near the center of the record,* where the diameter becomes smaller and smaller.

Two more remarkable features of Dynagroove records: you do not need special equipment to play it, everything is on the record itself. Secondly, new Dynagroove records are in the same manufacturer's nationally advertised price categories as our conventional records in either monaural or stereo. But words can't convince as well as listening at home.

MAKE THIS QUICK TEST

Play your best recording (any label) and compare the sound with that on any new Dynagroove record!

1. Play both at normal level, then at full volume. (The Dynagroove recording is a stunning experience.)
2. At low level—note the Dynagroove record bass remains full-bodied and the whole spectrum of sound is complete, not thinned out!
3. Play inner grooves—at normal, high and low levels. Note how the magnificent new Dynagroove sound is undistorted—*even when you play it at low volume!*

HEAR THE FIRST GREAT NEW ALBUMS IN DYNAGROOVE BY RCA VICTOR

FIEDLER/BOSTON POPS "Jalousie and Other Favorites in the Latin Flavor."	MARTY GOLD and His Orchestra: "Soundpower." You must hear it to believe it!	HUGO & LUIGI CHORUS: "The Cascading Voices of the Hugo & Luigi Chorus."	LEINSDORF/BOSTON SYMPHONY/Mahler "Symphony No. 1." Superb!	"MADAMA BUTTERFLY" Price, Tucker. First opera in DYNAGROOVE system.
MUNCH/BOSTON SYMPHONY/Ravel "Bolero." New excitement is captured!	PETER NERO: "Hail the Conquering Nero." A DYNAGROOVE showcase!	SID RAMIN and Orchestra: "New Thresholds in Sound." 12 new experiences in sound!	ROBERT SHAW CHORALE: "This Is My Country." Flawless...a classic!	DICK SCHORY'S Percussion Pops Orchestra: "Supercussion." Solid rhythm!

EXCLUSIVE! SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER AT MOST BUICK DEALERS: EXCITING NEW DYNAGROOVE L.P. ALBUM "THE SOUND OF TOMORROW."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ism and rabid nationalism, a sense of impotence and frustration. In another five years we may be confronted by a Europe that can truly be described by many of the epithets presently applied to President de Gaulle. The fact that many of our actions are taken with the seeming agreement of much of our press and some of our allies is no consolation. The test of leadership is not tomorrow's editorial but what history will say of us five years from now.

V. Where Do We Go From Here?

It is always difficult to reverse course. The longer a given policy is maintained, the more vested interests—in dedication, in conception, and in bureaucratic persistence—it is bound to create. Yet sometimes the wisest policy is to resist the temptation to rely on momentum, and to step back and take stock.

Perhaps the best way to begin a reappraisal would be to ask ourselves what our real interests in Europe are. We should examine what kind of structure we desire in the long term rather than seek for devices to head off immediate pressures.

The goal of a strong, unified, and self-sufficient Europe, which American policy has consistently pursued for a decade and a half, is as valid today as it was when first developed in 1947. We may not have fully understood then that an economically powerful Europe would be more self-assertive in the political and military field as well. We may have believed subconsciously that our policy would relieve us of economic burdens without requiring a redefinition of Atlantic relationships. But whether or not we fully realized the implications of what we were doing, the Europe of today stands as a testimony to our foresight and our ability to subordinate short-term advantage to long-term benefits.

However, in the past few years there has been a tendency to recoil before the inevitable implications of our policy. It was always in the cards—indeed, it was our stated purpose—that as Europe regained its economic health it would also seek to develop its own specific policies. It never occurred to us originally that the relations of the European states to each other should not be closer than each of them was to the United States. On the contrary, the original conception was that a cohesive Europe would be a more effective partner for the United States. Atlantic partnership was then thought of in terms of establishing a relationship with a Europe whose internal structure would be firmer than the Atlantic bonds.

This great conception can be reversed today only by undermining the structures that have been laboriously developed over the past fifteen years. Fifteen years ago it might have been possible to try to construct an Atlantic Community on the most favored nation principle; that is, that no nation have closer relations to any other than to the United States. Today this attempt jeopardizes all that has been achieved.

Yet stripped to its essentials, this is the course we have been pursuing with Europe in the nuclear field. Our definition of interdependence has the practical consequence of discouraging the emergence of any European identity in nuclear matters. We are fostering a concept of multilateralism that will add new divisions to the existing rifts in Europe. A multilateral force in which France does not participate and to which Britain makes only a token contribution will lead to a structure in the nuclear field inconsistent with all our postwar policies. The result is likely to be either competing European groupings or the ultimate emergence of a European unity in which the leadership roles have been drastically altered with our assistance.

It is still possible—though it is getting late—to prevent these developments by fostering a European nuclear identity growing out of the British and French programs. It is often said that such a course would divide the Alliance. But surely we are not going to maintain that partnership is possible only with nations incapable of independent action. Moreover, if we cut through the phrases to the facts, a separate European entity need be no more divisive in the military than in the economic field. In both instances it calls attention to the need for a political effort to devise common objectives.

It would be idle to claim that conceding European nuclear autonomy would by itself solve NATO's nuclear dilemma. The problem of relationships in the nuclear field is sufficiently complex to resist simple remedies. But encouraging a separate European center of decision-making is a vital first step.

We have had two choices with respect to Europe's nuclear future. We could accept the British and French national efforts and encourage first a common Franco-British and ultimately a European program. Or else we could group the non-nuclear countries into a multilateral force more responsive to our notions of a single chain of command and an indivisible target system.

We have chosen the second course. The first is preferable by far. It is hard to conceive a stable Europe that does not include France as well as Britain. Any genuine nuclear policy must grow out of existing programs that will continue whatever the fate of the multilateral force. A policy that cannot relate us to the existing nuclear powers—our traditional allies—is not likely to be more effective when the present non-nuclear powers have become members of the nuclear club with our help.

Thus, instead of being hostile to the French nuclear program and, at best, indifferent to the British effort, we should use our influence to place them in the service of a European conception. This would also be the most reliable road to Atlantic partnership. The emerging European force could then be related to ours through political co-ordination and joint strategic planning. Such a policy would require a change of attitude on our part; at the very least the technical pressures from the Defense Department would have to be subordinated to an overriding political direction.

This is not to say that the United States should support every strategic theory developed in Britain or France. It is plain that we have certain interests in any European nuclear development which we are bound to foster:

(a) The European forces should be well protected so that they do not

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

invite pre-emptive attack or have to be used precipitately because of their vulnerability.

(b) These forces should possess an effective command and control system so that they are at all times responsive to political direction.

(c) They should be a part of a strategy that includes the possibility of flexible response.

(d) They should become an instrument to foster European integration.

(e) They should be co-ordinated with our forces.

All these objectives are more likely to be achieved by offering assistance to Great Britain and France in enhancing the invulnerability of their forces and improving their command and control than by the so-called NATO multilateralism. We could make the scale of our assistance depend on the British and French ability to develop common programs and a common strategy. We could encourage Britain and France to put their nuclear forces into the service of Europe, perhaps by associating other countries in the control mechanism. We could strongly urge that the savings accomplished by our assistance in the nuclear field be devoted to a build-up of conventional power.

Such a program would maintain the principle of flexible response (though not perhaps of counterforce general war). It would grow organically out of existing European nuclear programs. It would avoid the necessity of organizing the presently non-nuclear powers into their own separate nuclear force and thus in the long run represent a smaller diffusion of nuclear power. It would make Britain's entry into Europe inevitable. And it would lay the basis for a more natural association between Europe and the United States than the so-called multilateralism.

It may be argued that once we help Britain and France, every European country will want its own national nuclear force. The President has mentioned even a Belgian nuclear force as a possibility. We must distinguish, however, between the possession of some nuclear weapons and the development of an indigenous nuclear program. The latter is beyond the present capability of any European country, for either political or economic reasons or for both.

West Germany is prohibited by the Paris treaties from manufacturing nuclear weapons. While treaties have been broken before, in this particular instance the international repercussions are apt to be so serious as to give any German government pause. At the moment and for at least the next legislative period—that is, until about 1969—there are in any event no signs of any domestic pressures in Germany for a national nuclear-weapons program. This may change, however, after the multilateral force has whetted appetites.

Italy has neither the resources nor the domestic support for a national nuclear program. As for Belgium and other smaller countries, it can hardly be argued that the French program exceeds France's resources but that we must gear our NATO nuclear policy to preventing the development of similar programs by much poorer countries.

To be sure, a joint Franco-British program would probably lead to efforts by West Germany and perhaps other European countries for a degree of participation in at least the control mechanism. But in this way the Franco-British effort could become a spur to European political integration. France and Britain would have a high incentive to foster European unity before the issue of nuclear weapons under German national control becomes acute.

Whatever is done in the military field, the current crisis underlines the urgent need for greater political cohesion in the Western Alliance. We are now in the curious position of pressing for military integration while practicing political bilateralism. On a variety of issues from Berlin to the test ban, we have claimed the right for independent approaches to the Soviets.

HOWEVER, unity in the security field is bound to be ephemeral without a common diplomacy. We cannot have different conceptions of a possible *casus belli*—which is at least one implication of different negotiating positions—and insist at the same time that the resulting strategy must be unified. If we want to spur integration, the political field would seem much more promising than the military. If the nations of the Atlantic Community follow common policies, the existence of different centers of military decision would present primarily a problem of technical co-ordination, not a challenge to allied unity.

The Atlantic Alliance requires urgently a political body to define common objectives and the means to achieve them. It might be useful to begin by developing a common position on such issues as Berlin, disarmament, or the test ban. If it should be argued that this is impossible, the emptiness of nuclear multilateralism is patent. Nations that cannot agree on common negotiating positions on such matters are not likely to be able to devise a common strategy for an apocalypse.

Withal, it is important to keep the difficulties of the Western Alliance in proper perspective. Deep as the divisions are, they are the result of the success of previous policies. They testify to the emergence of a strong and self-confident Europe—a consistent goal of U.S. policy in the last three administrations. Few of the recent fissures in the West have been produced by Soviet actions. This is another way of saying that the West is less imperiled by outside pressures than by a tendency to waste its own substance. It also means that the remedies are still within our own control.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Return to the Frontier

EILEEN CHANG

When I got off the plane in Taipei on my way to Hong Kong, I did not expect to see anyone I knew. I had asked the Chus not to meet me, knowing they were busy just then. But it was possible that they would get somebody else to come in their stead, so I was not surprised when an efficient-looking man in neat western clothes approached me. "You are Mrs. Richard Nixon?" he said in English.

I had seen many photographs of the blonde Mrs. Nixon and never imagined I resembled her. Besides, he should be able to tell a fellow Chinese even behind her dark glasses. But with a woman's inability to disbelieve a compliment altogether, no matter how flagrantly untrue, I remembered that she was thin, which I undoubtedly was. Then there was those glasses. "No, I am sorry," I said, and he walked away to search among the other passengers.

It struck me as a little odd that Mrs. Nixon should come to Formosa, even if everybody is visiting the Orient just now. Anyhow there must have been some mix-up, as there was only this one embassy employee to greet her.

"Did you know Mrs. Nixon is coming today?" I asked my friends Mr. and Mrs. Chu, who had turned up after all.

"No, we haven't heard," Mr. Chu said. I told them about the man who mistook me for her and what a joke that was. "Um," he said unsmiling. Then he said somewhat embarrassedly, "There's a man who is always hanging around the airport to meet American dignitaries. He's not quite sane."

I laughed, then went under Formosa's huge wave of wistful yearning for the outside world, particularly America, its only friend and therefore in some ways a foe.

"How does it feel to be back?" Mr. Chu asked. Although I had never been there before, they were going along with the official assumption that Formosa is China, the mother country of all Chinese. I looked around the crowded airport and it really was China, not the strange one I left ten years ago under the Communists but the one I knew best and thought had vanished forever. The buzz of Mandarin voices also made it different from Hong Kong. A feeling of chronological confusion came over me.

"It feels like dreaming." And taking in all the familiar faces speaking the tones of homeland, I exclaimed, "But it's not possible!" Mr. Chu smiled ruefully as if I had said, "But you are ghosts."

Mrs. Chu told me as we left the airport, "This is an ugly city, but the minute you get out of town it is beautiful."

They lodged me in a mountain inn. I got the Generals' Suite, where the generals stay when they come uphill to report to the Generalissimo, who lives a few steps away across the road. The suite was reached through a series of deserted little courtyards, with its own rock garden and lotus pond. In the silence there was just the sound of the evening drizzle on the banana palm and in the bathroom a tap of sulphur water constantly running out of a stone lion mouth and splashing over the rim of the cement tank. There were rattan furniture on the tatami flooring and a wardrobe and bed with stained sheets. I told myself not to be fastidious. But there were bedbugs. Finally I had to get up near dawn to sleep on the ledge of the honor recess, where in Japanese living rooms the best vase and picture scroll are displayed. The maid was frightened when she came in the morning and could not find me.

It was plain that the generals had feminine companionship while spending the night awaiting audience with the Generalissimo. I wondered at the ease of procuring girls almost next door to that Christian and Confucian founder of the New Life Movement. Surely it was unseemly with "Heaven's countenance only a foot away," as we used to describe an audience with the emperor. After I left Taipei for the countryside, I realized that prostitution was more open on this island than perhaps anywhere else in the world. In a small-town newspaper five or six advertisements of this type appeared in one day: "Joy and Happiness Prostitutes' Domicile, 1st Class. 124 Shin Ming Road. Swarms of pretty girls like clouds, offering the best service."

In the countryside Formosa peels back, showing older strata. There were more native Formosans than refugees. The mixed emotions of my homecoming of sorts gave way to pure tourist enthusiasm.

From time to time Mrs. Chu, sitting next to me in the bus, whispered urgently, *"Shandi, shandi!"* I just caught a glimpse of a *shandi*, or mountain dweller, a gray little wraith with whiskers tattooed on her cheeks carrying a baby on her back and loitering outside a shop along the highway. *"Shandi, shandi!"* Again the breathless little cry and a nudge. I saw gypsylike children in ragged

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T shirts and skirts, carrying smaller children. "They all come to town when there's a Japanese picture on," Mrs. Chu said.

"Oh, do they speak Japanese?"

"Very well."

Many of the bus passengers talked Japanese. They were the early Chinese settlers, and a surprising number of their young people still spoke Japanese. The bus stopped at what seemed to be the middle of nowhere and a young man got off. The conductor followed him. Suddenly there was a fight, the two rolling over and over on the wayside. *"Chigaru yo! Chigaru yo!"* I could make out the one Japanese word the young man kept shouting: "Mistake! Mistake!" The driver got off to help beat him. The passengers learned that this man was always stealing rides. I thought how un-Chinese these people were. In Hong Kong I had seen a streetcar conductor follow a free rider to the street and grab hold of his necktie, in place of the pigtail which used to be the first thing reached for in a brawl. But that was just a scuffle and exchange of words. Last year a bus conductor was taken to the police station on the complaint of a woman he had hit with his ticket puncher, a murderous tool conductors were forever rattling to remind people to buy tickets. But there were never any real fights like this.

Finally the driver and conductor let the man go. He got on his feet panting and dusted himself. They drove off. He stood at attention in his torn khaki shirt and saluted the bus as it passed. He did not look old enough to have been in the army in Japanese days, but that reverence was distinctly Japanese. Oddly enough, it also reminded me of the Communist Chinese lining up all the porters, sweepers, and peddlers on the railway platform, each presenting his broom, pole, and basket like arms as the train pulled out. Workers have been told to love their machine, but to have them pay their respects to it in this little ritual seemed strange.

FROM Formosa I went on to Hong Kong, which I had not seen for six years. The city was being torn down and rebuilt into high apartment buildings. Whole streets were dug up, with a postbox buried up to its neck, still functioning. The refugees were settled down, hoping only to live out their lives in Hong Kong. The younger generation speak Cantonese in school and refuse to speak anything else at home, a good excuse not to talk to their parents that other teen-agers may envy.

The more or less well-to-do homes I saw were getting increasingly Americanized, with amahs becoming too expensive and washing machines taking their place along with the latest-model refrigerators and hi-fi phonographs bought on the installment plan. Christmas had become a great occasion for gifts and parties for non-Christians too. Boys and girls handed each other Christmas cards in school. One girl wrote to a woman columnist: "I am nineteen years old. My father and I escaped from north China a year ago, crossing the country with great difficulty. We made the last stretch to Macao in a small boat which was fired on by the Communists. My father covered me with his body so he got wounded and died in the hospital in Macao. I came to Hong Kong, where a friend of father's got me a job paying about HK$100 a month [less than twenty American dollars], just enough to keep alive and rent a bunk. I am the only one without Christmas in all Hong Kong. Please tell me if I should go back to the mainland."

Side by side with harrowing escapes like this, there is a lot of what seems to be needless and foolhardy traffic of refugees going back for visits. "We've grown poor from sending parcels," my landlady told me once with a little laugh. She never could leave off explaining why they had to take in a lodger. She and her husband sent both sets of parents and other dependents noodles, pop rice, preserved meats and herbs, sugar, soy, peanut oil, and soap each month and clothing in season. Of one brand of British-made chicken cubes, her mother-in-law had written ecstatically: "These cubes have solved all the problems of our two meals a day." The sugar they dissolved in water and drank as a tonic. Her brother, in a labor camp for harboring a friend accused of being a Nationalist spy, is still able to write her asking for pills for his ailing kidney and swollen legs. Her younger sister is a doctor assigned to work in the country. "She has to go out on sick calls at night, where it's pitch-dark and the ground is uneven and she's afraid of snakes. You know how young girls are," she said, just as she apologized for her daughters monopolizing the bathroom: "You know how young girls are."

I was there to see a great packing. The landlady had a relative going back—a woman in her seventies—who could take things in for them. The landlady's husband wrestled with loads and ropes all over the kitchen floor. She baked a cake and made stewed pork.

"They can use the pot too," she said.

"How is one to carry a pot of stewed pork all the way to Shanghai?"

"It will be frozen; the train is like a refrigerator."

She got up at dawn to see the old lady off, and she had to go along to help carry the luggage past the inspections at the Lohu border. The next day she cried out when she came upon me: "Ha-ya, Miss Chang! I almost didn't come back."

"But what happened?"

"Huh-yee-ya! To begin with, there were altogether too many things. The old lady's fault, too—she had so many things of her own. Oil drums, crates of salted fish, whole cartons of cans. Clothes, bedding, pots and pans, enough to furnish a house. The customs man was losing his temper. Then he came upon some change in her purse, twenty, thirty cents of Jen Ming Piao she had with her when she came out last time and forgot to get rid of. You're not supposed to take Communist money in, so all hell broke loose. 'Where did this come from? Ha?' And 'What do you mean by this? Ah?' Turned on me now: 'Who are you? Ah? What's your relation to her, HA? What are you doing here, AH?'" My landlady screwed up her slant-eyed baby face to roar out the "Ahs" and "Has." "Ai-ya—I said I knew nothing about this, I just came to see her off, but all the time I was worried to death." She frowned and clucked with annoyance and dropped her voice to a whisper. "This old lady had dozens of nylon stockings

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sewn inside her thick padded gown."

"To sell?" I asked.

"No, just to give as presents; women wear them inside their slacks."

"But why? When they can't even be seen?" And with all the hunger we heard was around, I thought.

"Not full-length ones." The landlady gestured toward her calves. "For the wives of officials. She likes to bring everybody something. Very capable old lady. She imports movies made in Hong Kong. What does she want so much money for? Ha? Seventy and no children? Ha?"

I REMEMBERED coming out ten years ago, walking the last stretch across the Lohu Bridge with its rough wood floor closed in on both sides by guardhouses and fences. A group of us stood waiting after the Hong Kong police on the other side of the barbed wire had taken our papers away to be studied. They took a long time over it. It was midsummer. The Hong Kong policeman, a lean tall Cantonese with monstrous dark glasses, looked cool and arrogant as he paced around in his uniform and shorts, smartly belted and creased. Beside us stood the Communist sentry, a round-cheeked north country boy in rumpled baggy uniform. After an hour in the hot sun the young soldier muttered angrily, speaking for the first time, "These people! Keep you out here in this heat. Go stand in the shade." He jerked his head at a patch of shade a little distance back. But none of us would look at him. We just smiled slightly, pressing close to the wire fence as if afraid to be left out. Still, for a moment I felt the warmth of race wash over me for the last time.

That fateful bridge has often been compared to the Naiho Bridge between the realms of the living and the dead. Like most clichés, it is true when you experience it yourself. It makes me impatient to hear westerners quibble about the free world not being really free. Too bad that many of us have to go back over that bridge when we can't make a living outside.

I have an aunt who has stayed in Shanghai because she could not leave her new house. Her son, just out of college, joined his father in Hong Kong but did not like it there. He went back in 1952, just when I was about to leave. His mother took him to have his fortune told one evening and I went along. He would find a job soon, the fortuneteller said. But there might be trouble. He might go to prison. The prediction sounded reasonable at the time, with a movement on against businessmen and many suicides and arrests. The youngish fortuneteller looked like a shop assistant in his gabardine gown. I had no confidence in him and resolutely avoided his eye although I needed badly to have my own fortune told.

My cousin got a small job in Peking as predicted. Life was hard, he wrote his mother. Get married,

his mother wrote back. It's the only way to have some happiness. But he was a quiet boy, slow to make up his mind. Ten years later when I saw his father in Hong Kong this time, I heard the son had wanted to get out again. Checking his application for a permit to leave, the authorities seized on the fact that he had once joined a Nationalist group in college. He was sentenced to three years' house arrest in his mother's modernistic mansion, which they took the opportunity to search, probing the sofas for American dollars. He has all comforts, even servants to stand in line for the daily rations. But three years with Mother is evidently considered enough punishment.

I heard about my mother's family from one of my uncle's married daughters, the only one out. The other two stayed in because their husbands, a doctor and the son of a high Nationalist official, chose to stay. One of the sisters had died.

"So did my brother's wife," said my cousin in Hong Kong. "And both men remarried before their wives' bones were cold. Father died of cancer after losing everything in the land reform. Mother is wretched living with Brother. He doesn't earn enough and his new wife is a shrew. We Huangs are finished."

Looking back, I saw how my family and relatives had all been taught by our ancestors to hang onto land, the only clean and solid thing, by comparison to which all other possessions are showy, immoral, therefore impermanent. No matter what fools one's children were, as long as they did not slap land deeds on a gambling table they were safe. Despite ancestral admonitions, in time of course all their descendants tried their hands at other investments for better and quicker profits. Many soon found they were not clever enough and resigned themselves to the yearly income from the land—cut down by wars, famines, inflations—and grew poorer and poorer. The Communists merely hastened the end.

No one I know is in a commune or knows anybody who is in one, with the exception of a Cantonese amah who went back to sweep the graves this spring. Her family belongs to the village commune. It is still the farmers, always the worst off, who are getting the worst of it. Having heard of the food shortages, the amah brought in a bit of cooking oil and salted fish for her own use.

When she arrived for a twenty-day visit, the commune allowed her to buy a large quantity of rice and small quantities of cooking oil and pork as a special favor. The pork was divided among her family and neighbors because they had not tasted meat all year. So went her salted fish. Her last ten days there she lived on snails that a little girl gathered for her from a pond.

There was no community dining hall. Everybody queued up with two cans to get the rice and what went

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with it, served through two holes dug in the kennel-sized temple of the earth god. When they got home the food was cold, of course.

Every day at four in the morning a man beat a gong to summon everybody to the fields. Breakfast at nine. Work at ten. Lunch at twelve. Work again at one. Supper at six. Work again at seven. But not in the fields this time—usually it was carrying coal or mud. Quit at ten at night. Sometimes "leap forward" to twelve midnight. No Sundays or holidays, only a few days off at the New Year. This despite the slogan "Let the farmers rest." Wages varied from a dollar something to fifty or sixty cents Jen Ming Piao a month. Medicines had been free but now you buy your own. Herb doctors were available but herbs are scarce.

We Chinese have always been at our best within a rigid frame, even in poetry writing. It's when we are most hemmed in that we seem able to rise above ourselves. After twenty centuries of rule by the family we have been free for perhaps twenty years, and it has not been a pleasant time for many of us, full of conflicts and self-doubts. Now the state has taken the place of the big family, coming into every moment and aspect of life with its familiar persuasive pressure. The sheep has returned to the fold. Even hunger can feel right—up to a point.

Those who live near Macao swim a mile or escape by sampan in bands sometimes as big as a hundred, fighting the machine guns of pursuing motorboats with sharpened bamboo poles. But they will not stay put and fight. The trouble with us Chinese is that we are too sensible. Sixty thousand crashed the land border to Hong Kong last May. The border guards who had shot at smaller numbers evidently held back because the crowds were too big, the government having always avoided massacres if possible. After this the communes were modified but not abandoned. There is already talk now of their being revived in the area around Canton.

Advance two steps, retreat a step—Mao Tse-tung has said this is his way of making progress. Whether dance or march, the people drag on, hoping to outlive their tormentors.

'Chicago Ain't Ready For Reform'

HAL BRUNO

For a city that is self-consciously striving to live down its gangster days, Chicago's aldermanic election last month was a long step backward. Marked by a naked display of the Syndicate's political muscle and the professional-looking murder of a West Side alderman, it was a violent reminder that, under the veneer of reform and respectability, Chicago is still a city where gang-type killings occur with regularity and where politics on the ward level can be dirty and dangerous.

Chicago hasn't had an election quite like this one in almost ten comparatively peaceful years. Politically speaking, the turmoil did not involve Republicans versus Democrats, nor did it involve the Democratic Party as a whole. Instead, it came from intramural ward shenanigans, revealing that within the supposedly monolithic Democratic organization there are islands of autonomy, areas where neighborhood politicians run things as they see fit. The L-shaped First Ward, just south and west of the Loop, is such an area. In the old days, Aldermen J. J. (Bathhouse John) Coughlin and Michael (Hinky Dink) Kenna ran the district as a barony for themselves and the Capone mob. Thirty years later, when many parts of Chicago are as "clean" as a big-city neighborhood can be, the First Ward remains in the hands of their heirs.

The First Ward includes the downtown hotels and department stores, a small Skid Row, Chinatown with its pagoda roofs, decaying tenements for Negroes and Mexicans, new high-rise housing projects, vast stretches of rubble-strewn prairie cleared for more developments, railroad yards and warehouses, and an old Italian-Greek settlement around Jane Addams's Hull House soon to be cleared for a Chicago campus of the University of Illinois.

The idea of a college campus in the First Ward would have tickled Hinky Dink and Bathhouse John. In their day the ward was best known for its Levee, a colony of some two hundred brothels. Capone established his first headquarters in the Four Deuces on South Wabash Avenue. On election day, voters were paid off in Hinky Dink's saloon at the rate of fifty cents and a schooner of beer for each time they voted. The Levee has disappeared, Capone, Hinky Dink, and Bathhouse John are gone, but the gangsters have held onto the First Ward as one of their bases for political power in the city council and state legislature. For many years the alderman had been John D'Arco, a Democrat and a member in good standing of the notorious West Side bloc. This is a group of Democratic and Republican politicians who effectively block any anti-crime legislation that might inconvenience the Syndicate. When it comes to politics, the mob is strictly nonpartisan.

Unexpectedly, a couple of months before the election, Alderman D'Arco announced his retirement because of ill health. The new Democratic candidate would be State Senator

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anthony J. DeTolve, another member of the West Side bloc and a nephew-in-law of Sam (Mooney) Giancana, successor to Tony Accardo as boss of the Syndicate. As usual, the First Ward Republicans put up a token aldermanic candidate. He was Thomas J. Curran, who pleaded illness and studiously refrained from any active campaigning. For this type of co-operation, the First Ward GOP traditionally is rewarded with a seat in the legislature and some patronage jobs.

How Do You Spell FioRito?

De Tolve was certain to win without even trying, but he made the mistake of refusing to be interviewed by newspapermen and civic groups. He explained that he was just too busy, which prompted Chicago's *American* to label him "Anthony J. (Busy Busy) DeTolve," making him the butt of this year's campaign. He still would have won, but four nights before the election the ward's Democratic precinct captains were summoned to a meeting in a Loop hotel. DeTolve announced he was quitting the race and their new candidate was Michael J. FioRito, a fifty-three-year-old lawyer and decorated war veteran who had grown up in the ward but was a political unknown.

The stunned precinct captains—pronounced "presint" in Chicagoese—were told that DeTolve didn't want to "embarrass" them. The popular theory is that DeTolve had brought too much attention to ward affairs, causing the publicity-shy Syndicate to recommend that he forget about being an alderman and remain a state senator. Commenting on DeTolve's resignation and FioRito's substitution, the Chicago *Daily News* concluded: "If we knew root and all of this, we'd know the answer to all the questions about the mysterious half-world of Chicago."

FioRito's unexpected candidacy brought more attention and posed some real problems. For one thing, he lived in suburban Wilmette and wasn't even a resident of Chicago or the ward, which supposedly made him ineligible to vote or to be an alderman. But the candidate revealed that he had established a legal residence more than a year before at an uncle's home on the Northwest Side, which satisfied the requirements of a year's residence in the city, and had moved into the Conrad Hilton Hotel the previous month, which gave him the necessary thirty days in the ward. The Republicans—except, of course, those in the First Ward, who were not planning to win this election anyhow—did not accept FioRito's explanations: Sheriff Richard B. Ogilvie, the only top GOP officeholder of any consequence, discovered obvious alterations on the hotel's affidavit of permanent residents who are eligible to vote. The names of FioRito and his wife had been added at the end, out of alphabetical order and with a different typewriter from the one used for the other fifty-seven names on the list. Ogilvie started a fruitless search for that typewriter. Though an election clerk admitted making a "human error" by signing the FioRito's registration records after the legal deadline, the head of the Democratic-controlled election board insisted he was powerless to act. He said it was up to the city council, as a legislative body, to decide whether FioRito should be seated—if and when he won the election.

THE IDEA of Chicago's city council refusing to seat a Democratic alderman is preposterous, so the only remaining problem was for the First Ward precinct captains to instruct their voters on how to write in FioRito's name, since it was too late to change the voting machines and paper ballots. For the next three days and nights, the "magnanimous foot soldiers," as DeTolve called the captains, trooped across the ward, explaining in Spanish, Italian, Greek, Chinese—and even English—how to write "Michael FioRito," or something close to it.

Then more opposition sprang up from another last-minute candidate, Mrs. Florence Scala, a peppery little housewife who had led the losing fight against locating the University of Illinois in the Hull House neighborhood. Republican Sheriff Ogilvie expressed his frustration by sending his political workers into the First Ward to help Mrs. Scala's write-in campaign.

On a hazy election day, February 28, with temperatures averaging a damp and penetrating ten degrees, some 786,000 Chicago voters—slightly more than forty-five per cent of those eligible—were "delivered" at the polls. Down in the First Ward, the poll watchers almost outnumbered the voters in some precincts. Despite these precautions, there was a flash of the old Hinky Dink touch: an amazing number of voters asked for pink affidavit forms to declare themselves illiterate. This meant that a Republican and a Democratic judge could step into the booth and "assist" in casting their ballot. The Democrats had nothing to fear from the First Ward's Republicans, and Mrs. Scala's supporters hadn't time to register as judges. So each self-declared illiterate was, in fact, a write-in vote for FioRito.

To no one's surprise, the final count was 9,424 for FioRito; 1,316 for Curran, the passive Republican; 1,050 for Mrs. Scala; and 402 votes by people who didn't know that DeTolve had retired. A lone Republican alderman attempted to challenge FioRito's seating in the council, and Sheriff Ogilvie has called for a grand-jury investigation of the whole thing, but not much is expected to come from these protests. In a letter to the Cook County state's attorney (a Democrat), Ogilvie bitterly charged: ". . . there is no more flagrant example of crime syndicate interference with the free election processes than exists in the First Ward, and this goes for both parties."

Race Revival

A few miles south, in the Fifth Ward, the Regular Democratic Organization was cast in the role of a force for liberalism and good government. Independent alderman Leon M. Despres, who frequently opposes Mayor Richard J. Daley's program in the city council, had full support of the ward's Democratic Organization in his bid for a third term. The reason is that Despres is a proven vote-getter in a South Side district that includes the liberal and racially mixed Hyde Park neighborhood, the University of Chicago, and the Negro slums of Woodlawn. The area long has had a tradition of electing "rebels"; among its previous aldermen were former Eisenhower aide Robert E. Merriam and Senator Paul H. Douglas.

Despres's opponent was Chauncey Eskridge, a lawyer who campaigned

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on the premise that the ward's Negro majority should be represented by a Negro alderman. The campaign took on the aspects of a revival meeting, complete with rock-n'-roll bands, parades, rallies, and plenty of outside interference. Most of it came from Negro aldermen in surrounding wards under the control of Chicago's Negro political boss, Congressman William Dawson. The Dawson faction had long resented the Fifth Ward's independence, and with safe contests in their own wards they were able to send their precinct workers into the Fifth to help Eskridge. Despres counterattacked by running on his impressive record as a leader in the fight for fair housing practices and for an end to school segregation in the Negro ghetto, and also on the novel idea that an alderman should be chosen on the basis of ability rather than race.

The Fifth Ward voters rejected Eskridge's race-baiting campaign and re-elected Despres by a huge margin, 15,828 to 2,479. It was a compliment to voter intelligence and another demonstration of how precinct captains get out the vote. Without the support of the Fifth Ward Regular Democratic Organization, even Leon Despres could have been a loser.

Throughout the city, the more than four thousand Democratic precinct captains earned their city payroll jobs by delivering huge majorities for most of the organization candidates. For Chicago's jobless Republicans it was a painfully familiar story and another defeat at the hands of Mayor Daley's powerful Democratic machine. The colorless GOP won only four of the fifty city council seats. In six wards there will be a runoff on April 2 because a multitude of candidates prevented anyone getting a majority. The remaining forty seats went to thirty-nine Democrats and to Independent Despres. So there will be no change in the rubber-stamp performance of Chicago's city council, which has surrendered much of its power to a strong mayor.

In the primary, Mayor Daley was unopposed for nomination to a third four-year term; but he still pulled some 395,000 votes. His Republican opponent, former state's attorney Benjamin S. Adamowski, got only 87,000 votes against lightweight opposition that included the eccentric candidate Lar America First Daly, making his twentieth unsuccessful try for elective office. The difference in the Republican and Democratic primary turnout is an indication of what to expect when Daley and Adamowski face each other in the April 2 election.

Same Old Chicago

Chicago was about to settle back for a fairly routine mayoralty campaign when, two days after the aldermanic election, the body of Alderman Benjamin S. Lewis, a Negro, was found in his new Twenty-fourth Ward headquarters. Lewis was lying face down behind a desk, his arms outstretched and handcuffed, with three

holes from a .32 automatic neatly placed in the back of his head. His murder had all the trademarks of a professional job by a Syndicate "hit man."

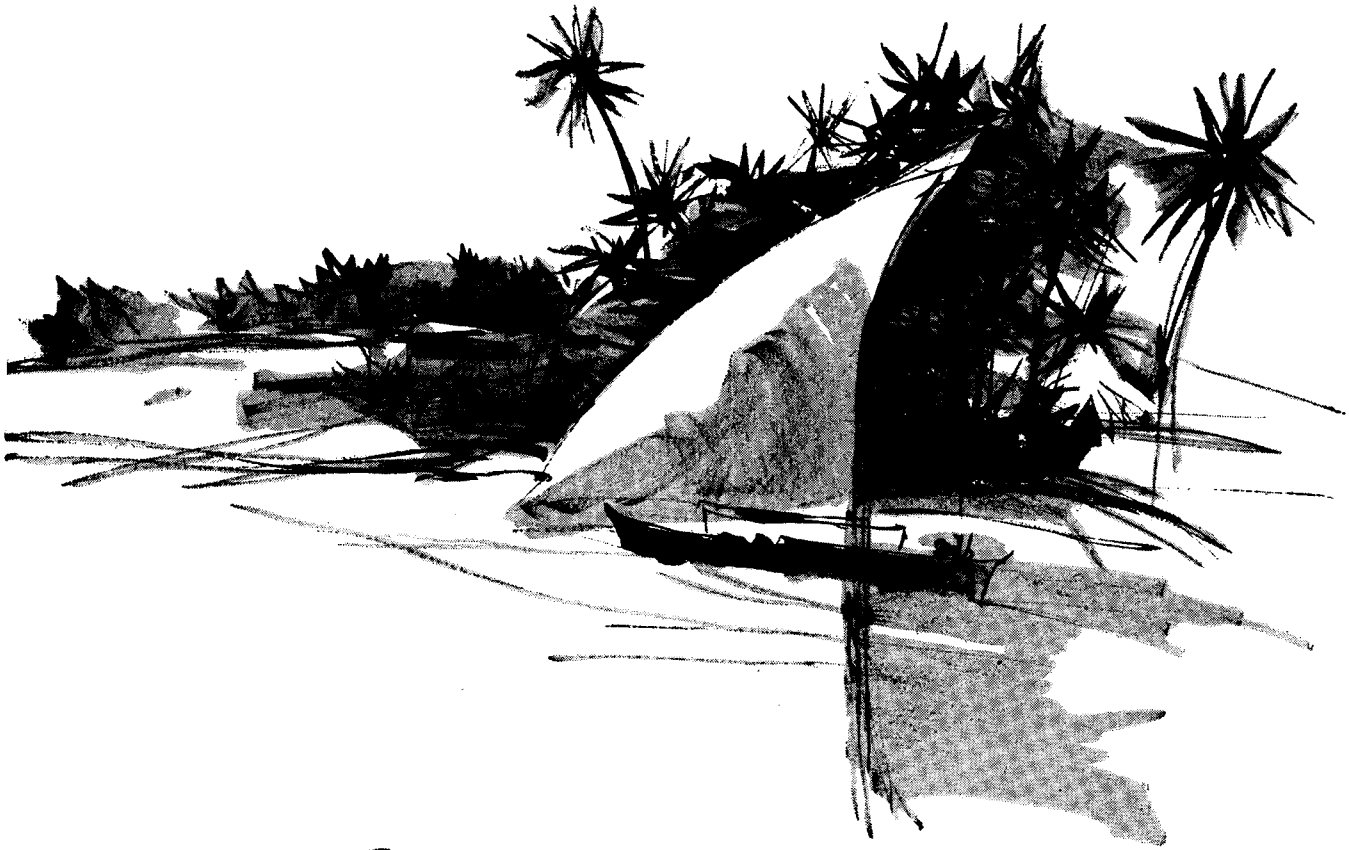
The fifty-three-year-old Negro alderman had been considered by many to be future Congressional material and was the absolute political boss of the Twenty-fourth Ward, a ninety-nine per cent Negro neighborhood. A Democrat with an independent bent, Lewis had not joined the other Negro aldermen in the attempt to invade the Fifth Ward. In fact, he often had opposed the Negro political leadership and had ambitions to become the Dawson of the West Side. Lewis had breezed to a twelve-to-one victory for his third term in the city council. Once the stronghold of Chicago's Jewish politicians, the Twenty-fourth Ward had turned into a Negro slum in the 1950's. Lewis, starting as a lowly precinct captain, led the quiet struggle to transfer the power to a Negro political organization. The absentee white politicians—who moved out when the Negroes first moved in—gradually relinquished their organization and patronage to Lewis, including the ward's lucrative insurance and real-estate business.

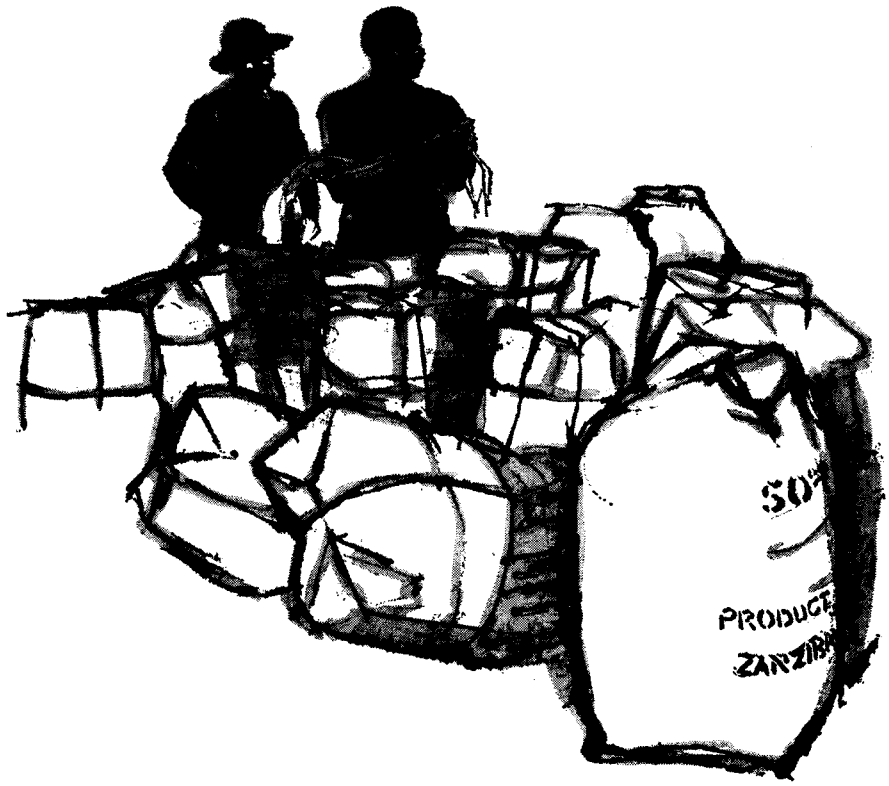
Though police everywhere, and in Chicago in particular, have an almost zero batting average for solving gang murders, investigators plunged into the Twenty-fourth Ward's morass of vice, narcotics, and gambling for evidence of a motive. They are searching Lewis's personal life, political problems, and insurance and real-estate dealings. Thus far, it is murder by persons unknown for reasons unknown.

It has been a decade since an important Chicago politician was assassinated so brazenly. In 1953, Republican State Representative Clem Graver, an associate of the West Side bloc, was kidnapped in front of his home and never seen again. The previous year, Republican Charles Gross was gunned down on a West Side street after refusing to heed a Syndicate warning to bow out of the Thirty-first Ward political picture. The murder of Gross, who ran a soft-drink business and dabbled in handbook operations, touched off a crime-and-politics investigation that failed to produce any indictments but washed everyone's dirty linen in public.

THE SLAYING of Alderman Lewis produced a surprisingly slight shock in a city that thought it had gained a measure of respectability since the still unsolved Gross murder and Graver kidnapping. Civic boosters say it is not significant—that it is an isolated tragedy that could happen anywhere once in ten years. Critics answer that the political nonviolence and peace of the past decade was only a lucky break, caused mainly by the politicians' staying in line. Whatever the reason behind the Lewis murder and the switch of candidates in the Syndicate's First Ward, this election has been a throwback, recalling for many the words of an alderman who once boasted: "Chicago ain't ready for reform."

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

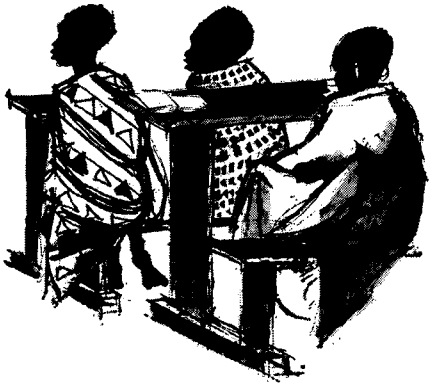


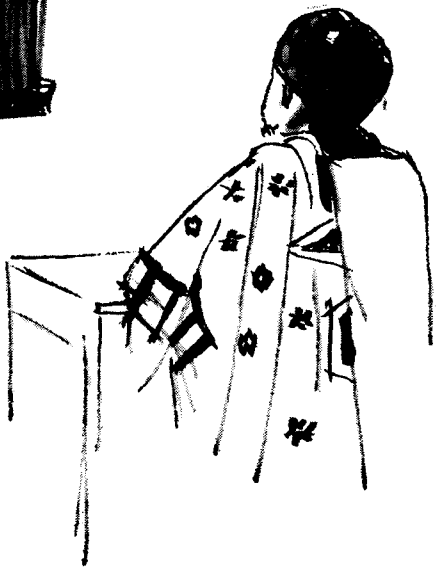


Aspects of Zanzibar

by Angela Conner

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





THE perfumed island of Zanzibar is known today chiefly for cloves, coconuts, and postage stamps. But for centuries Zanzibar was a political and cultural crossroads. The sultanate, which also rules over the island of Pemba to the north, has remote origins in settlements founded in the eighth century by Moslems from the Persian Gulf. Under the successive rule of African Moslems (the Zemj, for whom Zanzibar is named), the Portuguese, and the present dynasty from Muscat and Oman, the island was part of domains that included much of East Africa. Zanzibar itself was a flourishing capital of the slave trade.

Soon, perhaps this year, Zanzibar and Pemba will be given independence for the second time in their history. Independence was first bestowed in 1862 by Britain, France, and Germany in a joint declaration. Zanzibar, however, was a transshipment port for the Kaiser's East African colonial trade, and by 1890 German pressures on the sultan were such that he voluntarily placed his territories under British protection. The second grant of independence now depends upon the ability of the racially mixed Zanzibaris to forget their different origins and live together in political harmony.

There are 40,000 Arabs, who own most of the land; 18,000 Asians, who run most of the commerce; and 240,000 Africans, who provide the labor. The Africans, in turn, are divided into three subgroups: the descendants of slaves from the mainland, immigrant clove pickers from Tanganyika, and the Shirazis, whose ancestry is African with a trace of the Persian Gulf Arabian of bygone centuries and who claim to be the true natives of the islands. All these groups lived together peaceably until they had to face the problems of self-government. Then parties had to be formed, and the three that materialized inevitably appealed to the electorate on racial grounds. The result was bloody rioting and a bitter stalemate after two inconclusive elections in 1961.

Acrimony seems out of place in Zanzibar. The main harbor is crammed with intricately carved dhows that have sailed before the north monsoon from India and the Persian Gulf; the ten-foot-wide streets of the capital are thronged with robed merchants discussing the clove trade. Under the shade of coconut palms in the villages, women wrapped in cloths of many hues sit weaving bags and mats of coconut-husk fiber. The air is rich with the breezes from the orchards of clove trees and ylang-ylang, a flowering shrub whose blossoms are used for perfume oils. Farming conditions are primitive but far from burdensome—only a few months' labor goes into the clove crop that accounts for most of Zanzibar's foreign trade. The most impressive buildings are the huge sheds in whose dim interiors men clamber about on great piles of cloves.

Much of this has scarcely changed from the days when Burton and Speke paused here on their quest for the source of the Nile. And yet, standing on a street corner, one can see an African soldier with a modern rifle brush by an Arab dhowmaster with a silver dagger stuck in his sash. From the refuge of a doorway one might glimpse the sultan passing in an enormous car, scarlet to match his flag, nosing through the alleyway with inches to spare. Even politics has added color. The whitewashed walls of the villages are now decorated with bright red roosters, the emblem of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, which rules in a precarious coalition with the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party. And villagers have everywhere embellished the bird's outline with abstract patterns that delight the eye.

One of the most imposing sights in Zanzibar is the Treasury, a high wooden building originally built as a sultan's ceremonial hall. I went there to talk to some officials and found there were wild crows flapping from side to side of the four-story hall and perching on the silver-knobbed staircase. Their cawing echoed through the room. When I remarked on this, one of the officials said, "Oh, they are always there." Surely no one would want to chase them away. —A.C.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Drugs: Is Government Supervision Adequate?

MORTON MINTZ

"THE MORE we have examined the handling of the new drugs by the Food and Drug Administration," Hubert H. Humphrey told the Senate last October, "the more we have been surprised, shocked and disappointed . . . Often, testing has been going on in a manner which should have sent shivers down the spine of the medical profession . . . drugs intended for use by victims of chronic disease—day after day, year after year—were released by FDA even before—I repeat—before—chronic toxicity tests had been completed on animals . . . shocking reports of injuries and deaths to test patients, as received by drug companies, have often gone unreported to FDA, or have been downgraded by skillfully contrived half-truths, or have been reported accurately to FDA, but virtually ignored. . . Drugs have been approved which FDA now admits should never have been approved. Drugs have been kept on the market long after FDA admits they should have been eliminated . . ."

Senator Humphrey made these disclosures on October 3, 1962, just as the Kefauver-Harris drug-reform bill was being enacted into law. Many of its provisions, such as the requirement that experimental drugs be properly tested on animals before being tested on human beings, go a long way toward correcting the drug abuses that have been making headlines since Senator Kefauver began his investigation of the drug industry three years ago. Under the new law, the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) can order a drug off the market instantly if there is evidence that it is an imminent hazard to the public health; drug companies must list the side effects of their products in their advertising; and a new drug must be proved "effective" as well as safe before it can be marketed. Furthermore, physicians must obtain the consent of patients before giving them experimental drugs, unless this is deemed not feasible or not in the patient's interest.

The FDA, moreover, has been given greater powers for factory inspection and quality control. In addition, tighter regulations for human testing proposed last summer by Anthony J. Celebrezze, the new Secretary of HEW, went into effect this February. These require that the FDA must be notified of *all* clinical (human) trials of new drugs, and that the FDA must be kept fully informed of what happens during testing. The clinical testing must be properly planned and executed by qualified investigators, and again must be based on adequate animal studies.

BUT THE EFFECTIVENESS of the new law and of the regulations depends greatly on the organization that exists to administer them. Senator Humphrey, the only licensed pharmacist in Congress, is beginning hearings on the FDA this month, but the Senate Majority Whip has already gathered enough evidence in the preliminary investigation by his Government Reorganization subcommittee to cast grave doubts on the agency's use of the power it already had, let alone its ability to exercise more. And Senator Everett M. Dirksen, far from being encouraged, found in the belated issuance of the new HEW regulations "an unparalleled example of bureaucratic inertia." The fact is that the FDA could have issued them at any time since 1938.

That year marked the passage of the first significant drug-safety legislation since the FDA was established fifty-six years ago. It resulted from the disastrous carelessness of a manufacturer who the year before had marketed sulfanilamide in liquid form, using an automobile antifreeze as the solvent. More than a hundred people died. The 1938 law prohibited the sale of any new drug unless the FDA allowed an application for it to become effective. The FDA's decision was to be based on its evaluation of the animal and clinical testing reported by the manufacturer in his application. It was ruled that human testing was to be under the direction of an expert "qualified by scientific training and experience to investigate the safety of drugs." The FDA, however, has never set standards for an "expert," on the debatable ground that to do so would interfere in the practice of medicine. Even if this premise could not be challenged, the fact is that clinical testing is sometimes performed by research scientists who are not physicians. The new HEW regulations, moreover, set higher standards for the initial clinical tests than for those which follow, and their adoption by the FDA would seem to imply that the FDA agrees that it had some rights to set standards without interfering in the practice of medicine. Though FDA Commissioner George P. Larrick has complained that he could not find a consensus on the definition of an "expert," he has never asked professional or industry groups to help him obtain agreement and arrive at workable definitions. Nor did the FDA regulate or require reports on drug testing on humans.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The FDA was concerned only with the testing done on drugs for which marketing applications were filed. Currently, the agency receives an average of 375 new-drug applications a year, but manufacturers have been testing four to five times as many without reporting them. In 1959 alone, manufacturers tested 1,900 new drugs on humans. Since the Second World War the drug industry has expanded tremendously, and ninety per cent of today's prescriptions are for drugs that were unavailable twenty years ago. Meanwhile, qualified investigators are in increasingly short supply, and some manufacturers have decided that the mere possession of an M.D. or Ph.D. degree in basic medical science is sufficient for clinical testing. "Nobody knows," Humphrey told the Senate, "how many thousands of drugs have been tested, have caused harm, have been shelved, and never reported, never discussed . . . the most dangerous part of the iceberg has lain below the surface."

Of Mice and Men

Though the new regulations finally require that the FDA be informed hereafter on all clinical testing while it is in progress, its past performance in evaluating the relatively few medical-research reports it did get has not been reassuring. Even less reassuring has been its anaesthetized response to various cries of alarm.

"We firmly deny," Commissioner Larrick told Senator Kefauver's subcommittee in June, 1960, "that new-drug applications have been allowed to become effective on the basis of inadequate laboratory and clinical investigation work." The sixty-one-year-old commissioner has been with the FDA for forty years. In 1955, a year after he became head of the agency, a Citizens Advisory Committee had found cause to urge the FDA to develop better methods for evaluating new drugs. In June, 1960, Dr. Barbara Moulton, a former FDA medical officer, testified before the Kefauver subcommittee that the situation was "extremely dangerous"; in October of the same year she presented extensive evidence to document her charge, and in September a special committee of the National Academy of Sciences National Research Council called for remedial action "with the least possible delay."

In July, 1961, Dr. Louis Lasagna of Johns Hopkins University gave the Kefauver subcommittee some insight into the quality of animal testing that sometimes preceded the clinical testing: "I have been approached to start human testing of a drug," he said, "with the only information available being the amount of drug necessary to kill fifty per cent of mice receiving the drug in one intravenous dose."

There were warnings from the agency itself. In October, 1961, an FDA statistician, drawing on thirteen years' experience, said in a paper presented at a conference of FDA's top officials: ". . . the low quality of research data in NDA's [new-drug applications] is general and not isolated . . . Unfortunately for the medical officers, they must within short periods of time make decisions one way or another . . . they are forced to gamble; the information which they need to reduce almost to zero the risks of an incorrect decision too often is unavailable to them, because of weaknesses in research methods . . ."

BUT SUCH CRITICISM had little real impact on the FDA hierarchy or their superiors in HEW—until the scandal about the thalidomide sleeping pill. A number of details in that story, as brought out by Senator Humphrey's subcommittee, amply illustrate the shortcomings of FDA's head-in-the-sand posture about drug testing.

Smith, Kline & French Laboratories of Philadelphia tested thalidomide in 1956-1957, without any reported deformities resulting among 875 patients. Not having required that it be informed, the FDA knew nothing of this until March, 1962. In September, 1960, the William S. Merrell Co. of Cincinnati filed an application to market the sedative. It came out later that Merrell and three other subsidiaries of Richardson-Merrell, Inc., ultimately distributed 2.5 million thalidomide tablets to 1,267 physicians for "experimental" use.

About a month after Merrell had first applied to the FDA, it issued to its sales force a manual on how to present physicians with its clinical-testing program for Kevadon, its brand name for thalidomide. "You can assure your doctors that they need not report results if they don't want to," the manual stated, "but that we, naturally, would like to know of their results. Be sure to tell them that we may send them report forms or reminder letters, but these are strictly reminders and they need not reply . . . Let them know the basic clinical research on Kevadon has been done.

"Don't get involved by selling a basic clinical research program instead of Kevadon," the manual continued. *"Appeal to the doctor's ego —we think he is important enough to be selected as one of the first to use Kevadon in that section of the country* . . . Don't forget that you are a salesman, a professional salesman."

Perhaps such an approach to testing helps explain why the former chief medical director of the Veterans Administration, Dr. William S. Middleton, has found that "the desultory returns from over 1,200 physicians . . . could have no scientific significance or validity. Yet," he added, "this formula for deriving new drug introduction and acceptance has obtained for many years." When the FDA finally investigated last summer, it discovered that only 276 of the 1,267 physicians had reported to Merrell in writing on their clinical trials, and further, that at least one-fifth had not signed the statement of investigative qualifications that FDA regulations required the manufacturers to obtain.

ON NOVEMBER 29, 1961, a year after the company had filled its application with the FDA, Merrell learned from West Germany that thalidomide had been associated with birth deformities. The next morning it notified Dr. Frances O. Kelsey of the FDA, who had been withholding approval of the drug. At that point, Commissioner Larrick could have issued a public warning—the very course recommended by Dr. Herman I. Chinn, our deputy scientific attaché in Bonn, in a dispatch relayed to the FDA and HEW in January, 1962. Larrick, however, chose to let the company handle the matter.

Why the FDA didn't undertake an immediate effort then to retrieve the drug puzzled Senator Jacob K. Javits (R., New York), among others. He

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

asked Commissioner Larrick, during the preliminary investigation by Humphrey's subcommittee, what happened when Dr. Kelsey got the information.

JAVITS: "Then did you just talk to the company in general?"

LARRICK: "It was not conclusively proved at that stage."

JAVITS: "When was it?"

LARRICK: "There was strong circumstantial—there would be people who would give you an argument about it now . . . who would say that the problem here has been exaggerated."

Larrick admitted that the FDA could accomplish the retrieval of drugs more effectively than any company, but added that he was "not quarreling" with what Merrell did.

What Merrell did, according to its own report cited by Humphrey's subcommittee, was send a warning letter in early December, 1961, to its "active" thalidomide investigators, although the FDA was unaware that they represented only one-tenth of the physicians who had received the experimental tablets. Three months later, Merrell and its affiliates finally wrote all of them asking them to destroy or return the remaining supplies. "At the time," Commissioner Larrick said later, "I thought that was sufficient."

That it was not sufficient has become by now a familiar story. After reports published in mid-July of Dr. Kelsey's achievement in blocking the application of thalidomide, the FDA embarked on a crash program to ferret out the unsuspected numbers of tablets that had got into the hands of the public. A month later, the FDA, finding that substantial quantities were still at large, had to plead with the public to clean out medicine chests and flush all unidentified pills down the toilet. Nearly twenty-one thousand persons in this country had obtained thalidomide from both foreign and domestic sources, and at least nine women who took it during pregnancy bore babies without arms and legs.

Drugs on the Market

Recently the FDA has decided that it does have a quarrel with Merrell, and it has asked the company to show cause why its method of distributing the thalidomide tablets should not be referred to the Justice Department for possible legal action. Thalidomide, at least, was never allowed to go on the market. Other drugs that had to be recalled were. One was Marsilid, and in its case the FDA displayed what can be called remarkable patience in dealing with its manufacturer, Hoffmann-La Roche of Nutley, New Jersey. Marsilid was first approved in 1955 for use, with limitations, in treating critical cases of tuberculosis. Later it was found to have effect as a psychic energizer, or "happiness pill," and the company applied for a supplemental new-drug application for its use in treating mental depression. But Marsilid also was associated with 246 known cases of hepatitis (liver damage), fifty-three of which resulted in death. At least 400,000 patients used it. Hoffmann-La Roche, it would seem from the account given Humphrey's subcommittee by the FDA, was rather casual in reporting some of the hazards of Marsilid. Although it received the first reports of deaths and injuries in connection with the drug in September, 1957, it did not mention liver damage to the FDA until half a year later, in February, 1958, when it asked permission to change the label. By the end of 1958, the adverse reports on a variety of side effects were mounting and the drug company asked for another supplementary new-drug application under which a brochure listing new restrictions on its use would accompany the drug. The FDA, in turn, suggested a strong warning to be printed in bold type on the label.

The strong warning was not put on, however, and during the next year the company continued to market the drug. Nonetheless, the FDA approved the supplemental new-drug application in January, 1960. Seven months later, it renewed its request for the stricter warning label. Finally, in September, 1960, its request was complied with, but the sale of Marsilid under a proper warning label was short-lived. It was withdrawn from the market the next January, because, as the FDA put it, "drugs with similar therapeutic usefulness but with greater safety were available."

But these drugs had been available and marketed since 1959. Moreover, the five Veterans Administration hospitals that had tested Marsilid had discarded it much earlier, between December, 1958, and June, 1960, because of reports of "severe liver damage," "excessive toxicity" and—in a hospital system with more psychiatric patients than any other in the world—"limited usefulness."

Why did the FDA permit Marsilid to remain on sale until 1961? Larrick's explanation is that it was regarded as valuable in "near deathbed cases," but this was true only initially when it was used to treat tuberculosis, not mental depression.

Larrick has said that he is "proud" of the FDA's handling of Marsilid. Dr. Moulton, on the other hand, seemed prouder of the press when she testified about an earlier request to change the label. Marsilid's hazards, she said, "were well known in the Bureau of Medicine long before the newspapers began to carry reports on the subject. When this occurred there was prompt if not entirely effective action by FDA to revise the labeling. Prior to the newspaper publicity, however, we raised our voices in vain."

ANOTHER DRUG that had to be withdrawn from the market was MER/29, a Merrell product intended to reduce the amount of cholesterol in the blood, although the role of cholesterol in heart disease is controversial. Senator Humphrey has called the FDA's handling of the application for this drug "shocking . . . a sharp indictment of the FDA itself—its laxity, its tardiness in seeking to remove the drug from the market, its failure to protect the public interest."

The new-drug application for MER/29 was filed in July, 1959, and was assigned to a thirty-two-year-old FDA physician who had only recently completed his residency in internal medicine. He was promptly contacted by Merrell's F. Joseph Murray. "The company was extremely anxious to get the drug on the market," the young man recalled. However, the report of the FDA pharmacologists on MER/29 was unfavorable. And, the physician said, he was aware that scientists at the National Institutes of Health were concerned about MER/29's effects. (Later, their research showed that in blocking the formation of cholesterol,

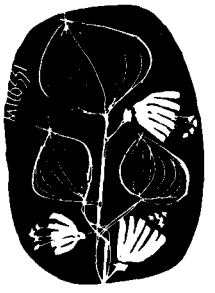
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MER/29 largely defeated its purpose by causing an abnormal accumulation in the blood vessels of a related fatty substance, desmosterol.) The FDA physician felt that MER/29 might be helpful in dealing with arteriosclerosis. Nonetheless, he repeatedly held back approval by judging the application incomplete because it failed "to report clinical studies in full details." But twenty-two days after he again made such a judgment, on April 19, 1960, FDA's young medical officer let MER/29 be marketed—before, according to Senator Humphrey, the "full details" were in, and even though he regarded its value as "theoretical." The new drug went on sale, not because its effectiveness against heart disease and arteriosclerosis had been established but "solely on the evidence of safety."

By September, 1960, the FDA had so many disturbing reports about the effects of the drug—cataracts, baldness, changes in hair and skin color—that it asked Merrell to submit a supplemental NDA and to revise the label to warn against use of MER/29 in women of child-bearing age. Meanwhile the adverse reports continued to pour in. On November 16, 1961, FDA scientists recommended that the drug be withdrawn, but the FDA administrators did not suspend the application. For a total of two years the Merrell product, heavily advertised in medical journals, was profitably sold as a prescription drug and taken by more than 300,000 persons. Then in March, 1962, by sheer accident, the FDA learned, as it reported to Humphrey's subcommittee, that reassuring data in the NDA from tests on monkeys "had been falsified." (The FDA investigation of this has been followed up by a Federal grand jury.) In April, Merrell recalled the drug. In May, Larrick cited clinical evidence showing "that the drug was unsafe," and suspended the application. In August, the FDA admitted that the decision to allow marketing had been a mistake.

That decision was made two months before Larrick had told the Kefauver subcommittee that it "is extremely improbable" that falsified data would not arouse the FDA's suspicion, and "categorically" denied that the review of new-drug applications "may in some instances have been superficial." The criterion for release of a drug, he said, is whether "the good in saving lives and alleviating suffering clearly outweighs the hazards."

By a curious aspect of the FDA's decision-making machinery, approval of a new-drug application can be given by a medical officer "on his own initiative, without review by any of his colleagues," according to Dr. Moulton. And as Commissioner Larrick has testified, the medical officer's decision "represents an institutional decision that the drug is safe for use under the conditions and in the dosages prescribed in the labeling." But when a medical officer believed a drug to be unsafe and wanted to deny its approval, the situation was different. According to Dr. Moulton, he had to have "the unanimous support of the Chief of the New Drug Division, the Director of the Bureau of Medicine, the Commissioner, and usually also the Director of the Bureau of Enforcement and the General Counsel's office."



The agency statistician described an FDA physician's plight quite well in the internal report already cited. "The medical officer," he said, "is in an untenable position because if he were to adopt the view that an application were incomplete unless the research supporting it were properly conducted, he would pass few applications. But this would result in a major shift in FDA policy, and have a far-reaching effect on a major industry. Clearly, a shift of this magnitude is not to be made by the medical officers."

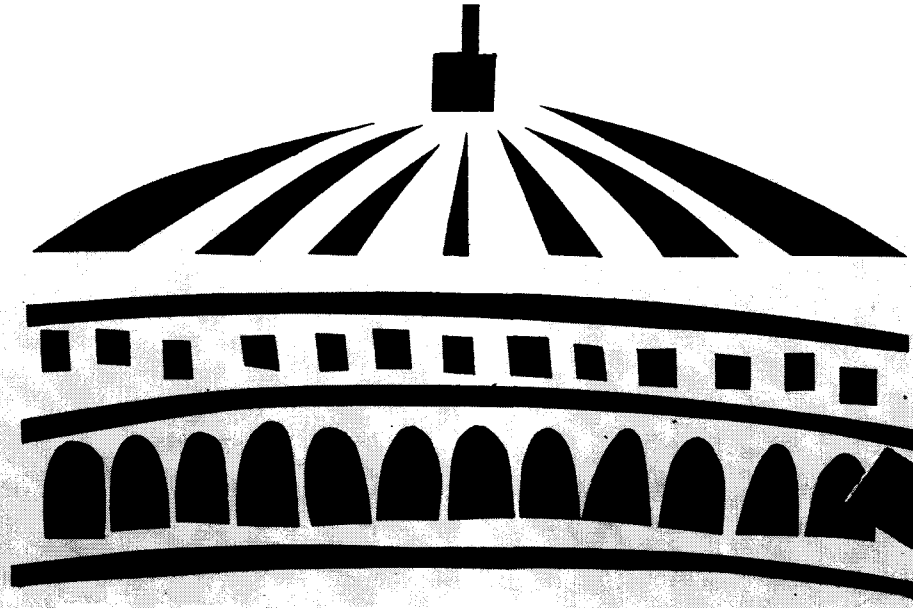
In view of the medical officer's responsibilities, however, it seems strange, as Senator Humphrey points out, that the physician handling the NDA for MER/29 "never consulted with the National Institutes of Health *before* the drug went on the market. Nor did NIH initiate such consultation," although it "has been supporting considerable research on cholestrol-lowering substances."

This lack of communication between two branches within HEW particularly irritated Senator Humphrey, who for years has been trying to bring about a systematic exchange of drug data between the FDA, the hospital systems of the Public Health Service and the Defense Department, and the NIH, which "has the greatest pool of drug research information in the world." He has found "little systematic communication," even among the institutes of the NIH. The thalidomide scandal has brought Senator Humphrey some measure of success, however. The NIH, for example, is now methodically feeding the FDA the result of an electronic data-processing survey of fifty thousand pregnancy case histories, yet NIH's director acknowledges that he is "not at all certain we would have done" precisely that if the thalidomide story had not been publicized.

As for the FDA itself, Humphrey claims that its high officials "have apparently been content" to let the agency "stagnate as a scientific backwater," despite the "deep interest of a few extremely talented M.D.'s and pharmacologists." The FDA's isolation has made it dependent, in many cases, on plain luck. The "falsified" MER/29 monkey data came to FDA's attention only because an FDA inspector happened to ride in a car pool with the husband of a woman who had quit her job in Merrell's animal research laboratories. Dr. Kelsey's determination to block the marketing of thalidomide was decisively hardened because she "chanced" to read a letter to the editor of one of the world's four thousand medical journals, a letter that associated the drug with peripheral neuritis.

Humphrey considers it "a miracle that we learn as much as we do." Though many sources—such as pharmaceutical companies, the FDA, hospitals, the Veterans Administration, and the NIH—compile data on reactions, they do not co-operate "to any real extent" with each other. According to Humphrey, the individual clinician "tends to be so busy that often his reports are a fraction of what they might be. This is a crucial point; it explains in part a tendency

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE REPORTER IS CAPITAL READING!

In Washington, The Reporter informs the people who keep the public informed. Here, for example, are a few significant facts about The Reporter's standing in the Capital:

President Kennedy, on reading a collection of articles from The Reporter, had this to say about the magazine:

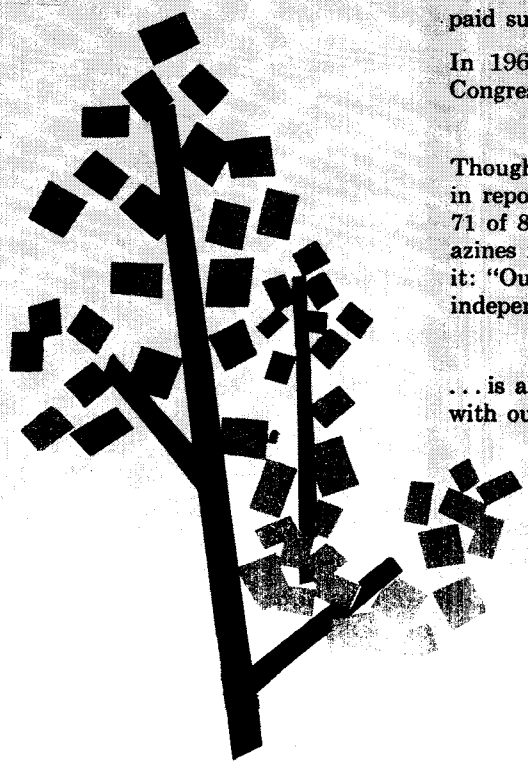
"This volume brings back some of the high points of the history of The Reporter. I believe that this book contains most of those articles which left a particular impression on me at the time they appeared. I am delighted to have this book, whose contents are a tribute to The Reporter and to its editorial leadership."

34 of the principal officials in the Executive Branch are paid subscribers. (Ten of them have written for The Reporter.)

33 U.S. Senators are paid subscribers.

Virtually every foreign embassy in Washington has one or more paid subscriptions.

In 1962, 16 articles from The Reporter were inserted in the Congressional Record.



"MOST FAIR AND RELIABLE"

Though The Reporter is a favorite in Washington, it plays no favorites in reporting the news. In a survey of Washington correspondents, 71 of 83 voted The Reporter "most fair and reliable" among magazines reporting politics. As Editor and Publisher Max Ascoli put it: "Our usefulness to the administration is in direct relation to our independence of it."

LESS THAN A PENNY A DAY

. . . is all it costs you to become a regular reader of The Reporter with our half-price introductory offer:

ONLY $3.50 FOR 24 ISSUES (ONE YEAR)

You can take advantage of this half-price offer to introduce your friends to The Reporter, too. Charge your subscription if you like—we'll be glad to bill you later.

Your subscription—or your friends'—will begin as soon as we receive your order. So to enjoy The Reporter regularly at half price, mail the reply card opposite now.

Regular rates: 1 year $7; 2 years $11; 3 years $14 (Add $1 per year for foreign postage, $.50 per year for Canada and Pan American Union.)

THE REPORTER 660 Madison Ave., N. Y. 21, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to overvalue fragmentary favorable reports." Although the FDA itself has had a small reporting program, involving at most 150 out of the nation's six thousand hospitals, Humphrey's subcommittee has "yet to find anyone who has substantially used this program or anyone at the reporting end who had received useful 'feed-back' from it."

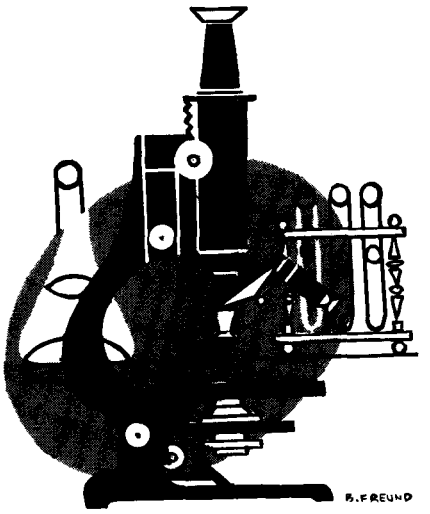
Consequently, Humphrey found it "incredible" that the FDA had not made "systematic use" of outside consultants. Although the agency supplied him with a "nominally" long list of outside consultations, Humphrey found it "completely misleading." "It pretends that an isolated telephone call or letter or short visit for a curbstone—I emphasize—curbstone judgment represented 'consultation.' I am surprised," he continued, ". . . that FDA states consultation has 'routinely' occurred. The men . . . inside the agency who have fought and begged for outside consultation . . . have been discouraged at worst, or ignored at best, from above."

Pressure and Persuasion

The atmosphere inside the agency apparently has been one of considerable discouragement from above, accompanied by constant harassment from some drug manufacturers. Dr. Moulton has told of cases in which orders came "from above" for medical officers to certify drugs about which they had doubts, the justification being that the manufacturers should "be in a much better position to judge their safety." She contended that in many of its activities the FDA had become "merely a service bureau" for the drug industry.

Dr. Moulton has also complained that manufacturers' representatives spend "three or four days a week in the New Drug Branch offices, arguing each point step by step, wanting to know and being told exactly where the application is at all times and which chemists and which pharmacologists are assisting in its review."

One physician who worked on the application for Marsilid, the "happiness pill" associated with hepatitis, left the FDA shortly thereafter to work for Marsilid's manufacturer, Hoffmann-La Roche. The letter he authorized, while in the FDA, to warn



prescribing physicians about Marsilid's side effects did not impress Dr. Moulton, who informed the Kefauver subcommittee that "the important facts were obscured by so much irrelevant material that [it] failed to serve as an effective warning."

The FDA's involvement with the industry was brought home forcibly by the disclosures that the head of its Division of Antibiotics, Henry Welch, was writing articles for professional journals that brought him a profit, as Senator Douglas told Congress last summer, of "approximately $288,000 . . . from the firms he was supposed to be regulating." Dr. Welch was "allowed to resign" in 1960, when the Kefauver subcommittee fully explored the matter, but even then, as Kefauver found, his superiors "were derelict in the performance of their duty . . . they whitewashed it. . . . He was not even asked by [FDA's top officials] how much his 'honorariums,' as he called them, amounted to. That was an outrageous conflict of interest." (The matter is now before a grand jury.)

WHEN the new-drug bill was passed in Congress, both Senator Kefauver and Senator Douglas voiced their concern about the ability of the FDA to administer it, and both called for "an infusion of new blood." Senator Humphrey has made it clear that he has "little reason for confidence in the policy echelons of FDA," but does not attack Commissioner Larrick personally; indeed he calls him "a faithful and dedicated public servant." Last October, however, a second Citizens Advisory Committee, reporting on a year-long study of the FDA, recommended that its top posts should "no longer . . . be held primarily by persons whose backgrounds have been as inspectors, but should include scientists with broad experience as well." The commissioner's post was specifically included. Larrick, who is not a college graduate, joined the FDA as an inspector in 1923 and rose through the ranks, becoming commissioner in 1954. His deputy commissioner started as an inspector in 1925.

But the chairman of the Citizens Committee, George Y. Harvey, who has since become a consultant to HEW on FDA *matters,* blunted what appeared to be a committee attack on Larrick. He told a press conference that the report was directed "to the future," and that Larrick could carry out its recommendations if he takes them "to heart and attracts the right kind of people."

Attracting and holding the right kind of people may prove exceedingly difficult. Dr. Moulton had quit in disgust so that she could speak out. A former scientific director, Dr. Paul L. Day, found life at the FDA impossible after he had criticized the agency for its "lack of sufficient vision of its proper role in the protection of the health of the American people" and "courage to present, adequately, a bold program." He resigned.

In a recent reorganization, Dr. Kelsey was promoted to head a new Investigational Drug Branch, and she has received from the President the nation's highest honor for distinguished Federal civilian service. But generally, FDA medical officers have been overworked in thankless, glamorless, paper-pushing jobs. Under the new regulations and the Kefauver-Harris law they will get hundreds of thousands of additional reports a year. More physicians have recently been recruited for the Bureau of Medicine—twenty-two in February—but there will still be too few specialists to evaluate the highly specialized material that will be flooding in, and they still do not have an effective consulting service.

To attract and hold top scientists to the bureau, Larrick could have pushed for FDA's own research program, as Dr. Day recommended. Larrick could have pressed for exemption of more physicians from civil-

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

service salary restrictions, and he could have tried hard to make working conditions more attractive. He did neither.

Since 1957, while enforcement and other FDA branches have stayed put in the HEW Building, the Bureau of Medicine has been shifted from a former nurses' dormitory near the city incinerator to ramshackle structures that were not air-conditioned, and from those to a World War II temporary building.

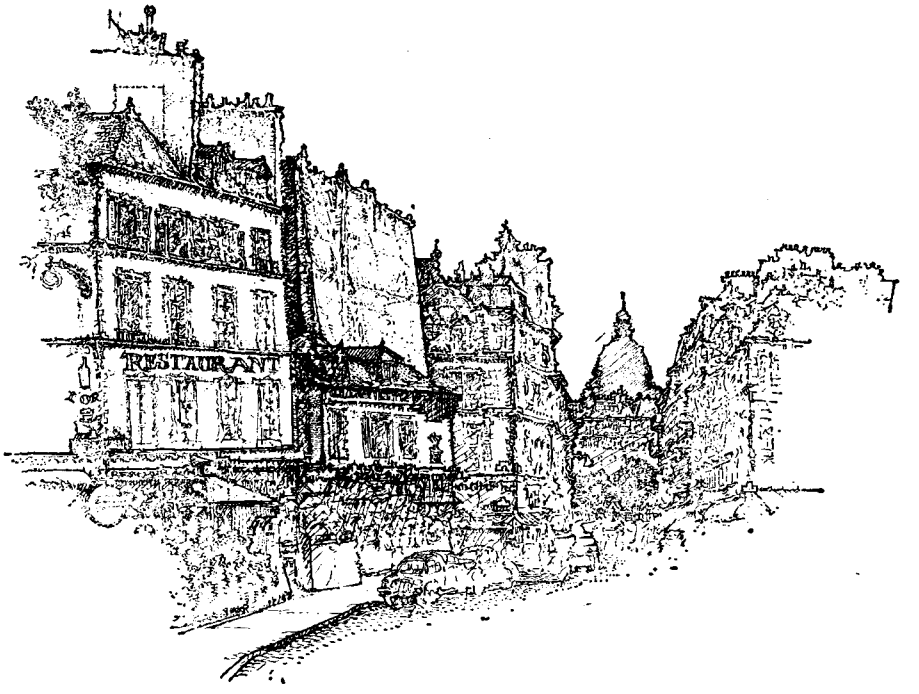
All of these quarters were distant from the Division of Pharmacology, whose work is integral with the Bureau of Medicine because it evaluates the animal testing in new-drug applications. Yet, as of early March, the bureau was destined to be moved once more, this time to a converted automobile-servicing garage in one of the most crime-ridden precincts of Washington and at least a mile from the Division of Pharmacology and other FDA scientists with whom the bureau physicians should consult.

Congress has long treated the FDA shabbily, but Humphrey has said that the price of generous treatment will be a demand for "men with drive, with initiative . . . not just 'going by the book,' by the letter of the law, but by its spirit, its tone, its fundamental purpose."

HEW is assuming that it can put new life into the FDA by teaching the old watchdog new tricks, but in and out of Congress this approach is considered excessively optimistic in view of the past handling of drug problems. Critics believe the FDA can become the great, vital agency Humphrey envisions only if the old watchdogs are replaced by a new breed of scientist-administrators.

THE HEARINGS by Senator Humphrey's Government Reorganization subcommittee this month and next will be followed by more hearings in the House. But it remains to be seen whether the FDA can continue to ignore criticism as it has in the past, or if Dr. Moulton will continue to stand by her testimony of 1960 that "hundreds of people, not merely in this country, suffer daily, and many die because the Food and Drug Administration has failed utterly in its solemn task of enforcing those sections of the law dealing with the safety and misbranding of drugs. . . ."

VIEWS & REVIEWS



The Last 'French' Composer?

ROLAND GELATT

THE VERDICT of posterity is notoriously dangerous to predict, as any critic with an ounce of prudence knows. It is safest not to hazard guesses—let alone make pronouncements—as to the enduring worth of contemporary music. Yet one must live dangerously sometimes, and it is in that reckless spirit that I write of Francis Poulenc, who died—unexpectedly and prematurely—on January 30, three weeks after celebrating his sixty-fourth birthday. For I am foolhardy enough to be confident of Poulenc's foothold on the slopes of Parnassus. He was not, admittedly, a fructifying influence; not a seminal force; not a Great Composer in the capital letters reserved for the likes of Bach and Mozart. But he was an indisputable minor master, and to me there can be no doubt whatever that his music —the best of it—will still be heard a century hence.

Poulenc defies ready classification. He once described himself as "half monk, half guttersnipe" and something of each can certainly be found in his compositions. He could be maliciously irreverent, blithely carefree. Much of the world's merriest music is included in his collected works. He could also compose in a vein of tranquil sobriety and angelic purity. Few twentieth-century musicians have written so successfully for the church. But it is a mistake to push the monk-guttersnipe antithesis too far. In much of Poulenc's most characteristic work, particularly in his songs, he is neither the clown nor the cloistered savant but simply an inspired melodist with a gift for conveying the overtones of verbal imagery in his own unique, immediately recognizable musical tongue.

Poulenc first made his presence felt, toward the end of the First World War, as the precocious scion of a well-to-do Parisian family.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

("My name," he once quipped, "is quoted more confidently on the stock exchange than in the marketplace of music.") He was largely self-taught as a composer, and from the very beginning wrote in a characteristically Poulencian style. The twenty-year-old who composed *Le Bestiaire,* a cycle of six aphoristic songs to poems of Guillaume Apollinaire, had already found his voice. It was at just this time that the critic Henri Collet wrote an article about Poulenc and five other composers of the same generation. He called them the Group of the Six. In truth, the group was cemented solely by friendship; these young composers did not form a school in any sense, and their aesthetic convictions were by no means similar. But Collet's label stuck, and the Six has survived—along with the Three Bs and the Russian Five—as a favored tag of program annotators. At first Poulenc seemed a lesser light in this constellation, at least in comparison with Arthur Honegger and Darius Milhaud, whose resolutely cacophonous music appeared to consist of far more solid stuff. But the passing of time has somewhat tarnished the reputations of Honegger and Milhaud, while that of Poulenc has steadily increased. Today his is the name that comes first to mind when the Groupe des Six is mentioned.

The vein of clowning and charm dominates Poulenc's music of the 1920's and early 1930's—one detects it in the ballet he composed for Diaghilev (*Les Biches,* 1923) and the concerto he wrote for Wanda Landowska (*Concert champêtre,* 1928), in the madly surrealist cantata *Le bal masqué* (1932) and the high-spirited Concerto for Two Pianos and Orchestra (1932), which remains one of the composer's happiest efforts. But in the mid-1930's, his idiom begins to show other attributes. One senses a new note of passionate engagement in the song cycle *Tel jour, telle nuit* and an unsuspected wellspring of beatific serenity in the Mass. Both works date from 1937, a year which marks a turning point in Poulenc's career. The previous summer he had visited Rocamadour, a religious sanctuary in the Dordogne, and there underwent a sudden and decisive return

POULENC—A SELECTIVE DISCOGRAPHY

LES BICHES. Paris Conservatoire Orchestra, Georges Prêtre, cond. (Angel 35932, mono and stereo.) To make the proper effect on records, this score needs wide-range engineering, a well-drilled orchestra, and a conductor who understands its coolly sensuous idiom—which is precisely what we are offered here.

CONCERT CHAMPETRE. Aimée van de Wiele, harpischord; Paris Conservatoire Orchestra, Georges Prêtre, cond. (Angel 35993, mono and stereo.) This disc is scheduled for release in April. If it is similar to Aimée van de Wiele's previous recording, the performance will be a thoroughly representative one, though lacking the playful wit that Landowska brought to this music.

CONCERTO FOR TWO PIANOS AND ORCHESTRA. Gold and Fizdale, duo pianos; New York Philharmonic, Leonard Bernstein, cond. (Columbia ML 5792, mono; MS 6392, stereo.) Poulenc was extravagant in his praise of the Gold-Fizdale reading, and one suspects that he would have been equally enthusiastic about Bernstein's vigorous conducting. However, the Poulenc-Février performance (on the overside of the *Concert champêtre*) may offer strong competition.

CONCERTO FOR ORGAN AND ORCHESTRA. Maurice Duruflé, organ; Orchestre National, Georges Prêtre, cond. (Angel 35953, mono and stereo.) Nothing better attests to the current popularity of this work than the recent appearance of three different recordings—all of them excellent. I choose this over the Biggs-Ormandy (Columbia) or the Zamchokian-Munch (RCA Victor) chiefly because it is coupled with the glowing and ebullient *Gloria* (1961), one of Poulenc's loveliest sacred compositions.

LES MAMELLES DE TIRESIAS. Denise Duval, *et al.;* Opéra Comique Orchestra and Chorus, André Cluytens, cond. (Pathé-Marconi FCX 230, mono only.) Originally brought out here by Angel, this recording is now available only as an import from France. In all important respects, this is how *Les Mamelles* was first presented at the Opéra Comique—a performance of droll suavity and crackling brio.

DIALOGUES DES CARMELITES. Denise Duval, Régine Crespin, Rita Gorr, *et al.*; Paris Opéra Orchestra, Pierre Dervaux, cond. (Angel 3585, three records; mono only.) Soon after its Scala premiere, the *Carmélites* was performed at the Paris Opéra with the cast heard in this recording. A more stellar assemblage of French women singers could not possibly be imagined, although the conducting seems at times rather heavy-handed.

LA VOIX HUMAINE. Denise Duval, soprano; Opéra Comique Orchestra, Georges Prêtre, cond. (RCA Victor 2385, mono and stereo.) Ideally, a recording of Duval's performance should embody both sight and sound, but in a less than ideal world this is still gripping and moving. Marvelously lustrous recording and (this being a Soria Series album) copiously informative annotations.

PIANO MUSIC. Grant Johannesen, piano. (Golden Crest 4042, mono only.) Poulenc was the first to admit that his music for piano solo tended to be too charming, too agreeably trifling; and a whole record of it is certainly too much to take at one sitting. This, however, is a well-performed and well-chosen collection, notable for including the piano version of *Les Animaux modèles,* a ballet of 1942 otherwise unknown.

SONGS. Pierre Bernac, baritone; Francis Poulenc, piano. (Véga C30A293, mono only.) Sad to relate, Poulenc's incomparable songs are at present abysmally represented on records. The only collection worthy of mention is this Véga record, which must be ordered from France. It includes four cycles: *Tel jour, telle nuit, Banalités, Calligrammes,* and *Le Travail du peintre.* Bernac was the Poulenc interpreter *par excellence* (most of the songs were composed with his voice expressly in mind), but at the time of this recording his vocal control was less than perfect. Nothing had impaired his incomparable artistry, however, and the record remains a precious document.

THE BEST of Poulenc on records is listed above. His death will undoubtedly stimulate some additions to the current discography. Columbia may possibly record the *Sept Répons de Ténèbres* on the morrow of its world premiere (by the New York Philharmonic under Thomas Schippers, on April 11). The *Stabat Mater,* with Régine Crespin as soloist, has been tentatively scheduled by Pathé-Marconi (hopefully with the 1937 Mass on the other side), and the accomplished Landowska pupil Rafael Puyana is to record *Concert champêtre* with the London Symphony under Antal Dorati for Mercury. Far and away the most urgent need is for a reissue of the great Bernac-Poulenc song recordings made by HMV in England and by Columbia in the United States during the late 1940's and early 1950's, when Bernac was at the height of his powers. These definitive interpretations of the major cycles and songs, with the composer accompanying, should never have been allowed to go out of print.

—R. G.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the faith of his childhood. The effect of this reconversion is apparent in everything he undertook thereafter. Not that Poulenc ever lost his tongue-in-cheek impudence or ever descended to the drearily sacerdotal. The Organ Concerto of 1938, for example, is a brilliant exercise of caprice and fantasy, but its mocking high jinks are already softened by the tenderness and soft repose of Poulenc's deepening lyricism.

THE DEBACLE of 1940 and the German occupation of Paris accelerated this intensification of his style. Poulenc suffered no ill-treatment at the hands of the Nazis. He was allowed to travel freely between his château in Touraine and his *pied-à-terre* in Paris, to appear in joint recitals with the baritone Pierre Bernac, to oversee the publication of his music. On the surface it was business as usual, and indeed in his broadcast conversations with Claude Rostand (collected in book form, *Entretiens avec Claude Rostand,* Paris, 1954) the composer conspicuously avoids any claims of deep involvement—either personal or artistic—in the wartime trials of his country. But the involvement is immediately apparent in Poulenc's music of this period, and not merely in his haunting elegy on the fall of France, *"Les Ponts de C,"* or in the cantata *Figure humaine,* a hymn to liberty composed in 1943 to some clandestinely published poems of Paul Eluard. One senses the effect of the war as well in all the songs having to do with Paris—as if the isolation, the graying decay, the somber emptiness of his native city under alien rule had made it all the more precious in his eyes. This mood of bittersweet nostalgia and caressing melancholy appears in *"Montparnasse,"* a song of 1943 (set to a poem of Apollinaire), and in the earlier (1940) Apollinaire cycle *Banalités*—especially the second song, *"L'Hôtel,"* and the concluding *"Sanglots,"* two of Poulenc's most perfect and moving creations. It is also apparent in the *opéra bouffe* of 1944, *Les Mamelles de Tirésias.*

On a superficial level, *Les Mamelles* is not at all the kind of work one expects from a composer who is awaiting his country's deliverance. It is set to a libretto (again by Apollinaire) of farcical tomfoolery, and it embodies some of Poulenc's wittiest and most lighthearted inspirations. But this short opera rises above its own zany irreverence. Poulenc snatches at every glint of poetry in the text—a word here, a phrase there—and, building on these, transports us far beyond the outwardly silly impertinence of the action. The dirge for Presto and Lacouf (*"Comme il perdait au Zanzibar"*) and the chorale *"Vous qui pleurez"* are worthy of the composer's noblest religious works, and it is easy to understand why Poulenc

Bettmann Archive

Caricature of the young Poulenc by Roger de La Fresnaye

—in the afore-mentioned conversations with Claude Rostand—bracketed *Les Mamelles* with *Figure humaine* and the *Stabat Mater* as the most authentic of his compositions to that date. To the dedicated Brucknerite, *Les Mamelles* may seem hopelessly foolish and mundane, but those attuned to its deliciously equivocal style—at once terse and extravagant, mocking and grave—will hold it a major adornment of this century's music.

Poulenc's next opera, *Les Dialogues des Carmélites* (1953-1956), stands at the other extreme in scale and style: a full-length grand opera (the premiere took place at La Scala) of unrelenting sobriety and discipline. The libretto, drawn from a play by Georges Bernanos, depicts the martyrdom of some Carmelite sisters during the French Revolution. Over it all hangs the shadow of death—and of redemption through faith. No one hearing it can doubt the sincerity of emotion that inspired Poulenc's setting of this contemporary morality play or can deny its many passages of expansive and touching beauty—the second scene of Act II, for example, which opens with an extended, verdantly lyrical declaration by the new prioress and closes with an ecstatic *a cappella* Ave Maria from the assembled sisters. But despite such scenes, the opera as a whole has always left me dissatisfied. It is the one important work of Poulenc's that can be said to plod. The difficulty, I think, lies in the Bernanos text, couched in a severe, neutral, precise prose lacking in verbal richness or metaphorical fantasy. Poulenc had great respect for its forceful and uncompromising literary style, but the effect of this austerity on his music was constricting. Though the *Carmélites* is far from unfeeling, it seems at times a bit factitious—as if the composer had dressed up too self-consciously in his Sunday best.

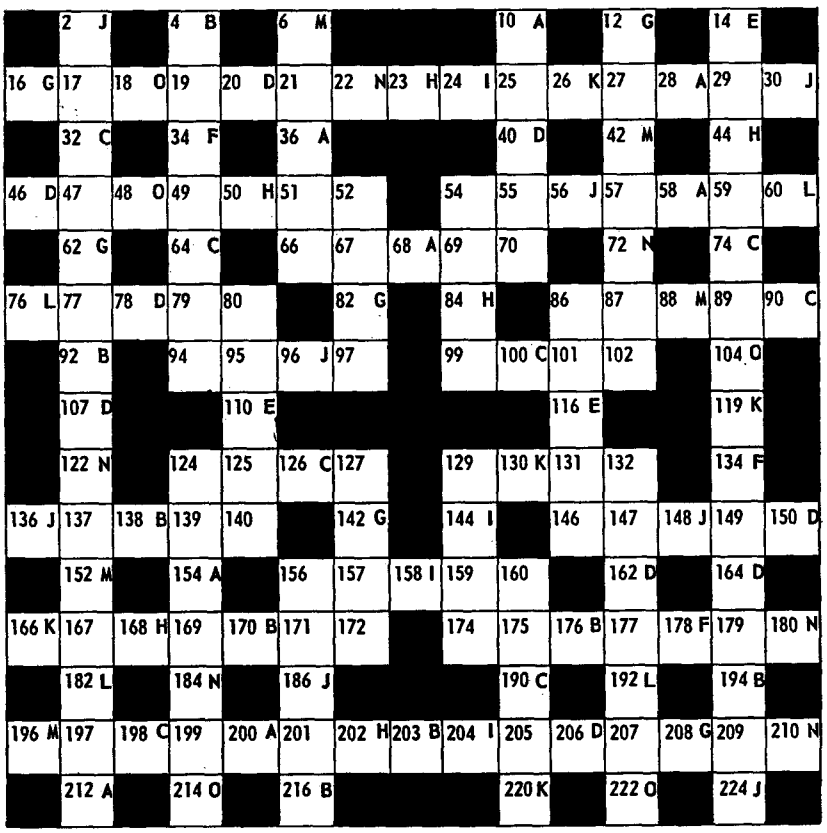
La Voix humaine (1958), a forty-five-minute monodrama to a text by Cocteau, brought Poulenc back into more congenial territory. Here the situation is less epic; we are in the boudoir of an elegant Parisienne who has just been abandoned by her lover. She calls him on the phone, and for the entire length of the work engages him in conversation. It is ostensibly a one-sided conversation; the man at the other end is unseen and unheard. But Poulenc's sensitive inflections follow the course of their colloquy with such evocative precision that the feelings of both are never in doubt. The orchestra carries the burden of this psychic scene painting, and in *La Voix humaine* we hear the composer's talent for sensuous orchestration at its apogee. The role of the woman calls for a singing actress of extraordinary gifts, and Denise Duval, its creator, rose superbly to the occasion, both on stage and in the recording.

AT HIS DEATH, Poulenc was working on a cycle of songs to poems by Lou Bruder, the French translator of von Kleist. It is appropriate that his swan song should have been in this form, for here he was without contemporary peer. His operas may not hold the stage

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE REPORTER Acrostickler® No. 75

by HENRY ALLEN



DIRECTIONS

1) Each crossword definition contains two clues. One is a conventional synonym; the other a pun, anagram, or play on words.
2) Letters from the acrostic should be transferred to the corresponding squares in the crossword, and vice versa.
3) The initial letters of the correct words in the acrostic will, when read down, spell out the name of a prominent person: the acrostician.

$\overline{68}$ $\overline{200}$ $\overline{154}$ $\overline{10}$ $\overline{36}$ $\overline{212}$ $\overline{58}$ $\overline{28}$ College attended by Cardinal Wolsey, Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Windsor, among others.

$\overline{194}$ $\overline{4}$ $\overline{138}$ $\overline{92}$ $\overline{203}$ $\overline{170}$ $\overline{176}$ $\overline{216}$ This may be a sin.

$\overline{126}$ $\overline{190}$ $\overline{90}$ $\overline{32}$ $\overline{64}$ $\overline{198}$ $\overline{100}$ $\overline{74}$ A short poem.

$\overline{164}$ $\overline{150}$ $\overline{107}$ $\overline{40}$ $\overline{206}$ $\overline{20}$ $\overline{46}$ $\overline{78}$ $\overline{162}$ Denied an allegation of fact set forth in a previous pleading.

$\overline{116}$ $\overline{110}$ $\overline{14}$ "Talk'st thou to me of '_____'? Thou art a traitor: Off with his head!" Shakespeare, "Richard III."

$\overline{34}$ $\overline{134}$ $\overline{178}$ A Russian aircraft.

$\overline{142}$ $\overline{82}$ $\overline{16}$ $\overline{12}$ $\overline{208}$ $\overline{62}$
"Enoch, _____, and the Lady, she
Who left the lilies in her body's lieu."
Coventry Patmore, "The Unknown Eros."

$\overline{168}$ $\overline{84}$ $\overline{44}$ $\overline{50}$ $\overline{23}$ $\overline{202}$ Rough fragments of broken stone.

$\overline{158}$ $\overline{144}$ $\overline{24}$ $\overline{204}$ "We press too close in church and_____." E.B. Browning, "A Vision of Poets."

$\overline{136}$ $\overline{2}$ $\overline{56}$ $\overline{96}$ $\overline{186}$ $\overline{148}$ $\overline{30}$ $\overline{224}$ One of the subjects of conversation of the Walrus.

$\overline{130}$ $\overline{26}$ $\overline{220}$ $\overline{166}$ $\overline{119}$ Stop (nautical).

$\overline{76}$ $\overline{182}$ $\overline{192}$ $\overline{60}$ "With every pleasing, every prudent_____, Say, what can Chloe want?" Pope, "Moral Essays."

$\overline{42}$ $\overline{196}$ $\overline{152}$ $\overline{6}$ $\overline{88}$ The color of lead.

$\overline{72}$ $\overline{122}$ $\overline{22}$ $\overline{210}$ $\overline{184}$ $\overline{180}$ A city in SW Nigeria.

$\overline{104}$ $\overline{48}$ $\overline{18}$ $\overline{214}$ $\overline{222}$ Full of flavor or zest.

ACROSS

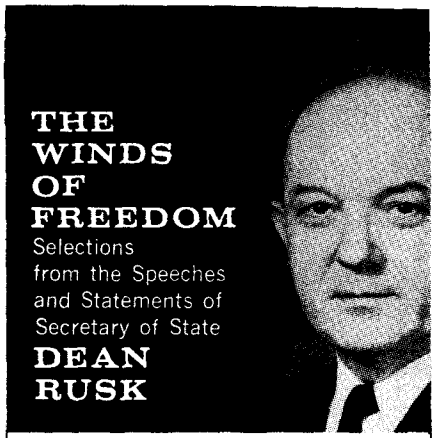
16. Bailiwick of the Acrostician (8,7).
46. Take care lest Bub show a short beard.
54. Not blessed in Scotland, they say, but still most admirable.
66. A melon may also be a citrus fruit.
76. Masonry supports may make up a spire.
86. Did the Germans break through here in such a vehicle?
94. What the Walrus sorted the oysters with, boss.
99. With 52 down, change a pound for a penny and sow.
124. What we deserve may be in what we yearn to have.
129. Lift, it's said, but, paradoxically, tear down.
136. Counterfeits money or real money?
146. His music was often regal.
156. A millimeter in a field makes a fine subject for discourse.
166. Riders crowded closely together.
174. In spite of how it sounds, this beverage may be quick (4,3).
196. In Flanders, hate ill, for a statement about where men decay (3,5,3,4).

DOWN

2. Look alive, Boats! Hand 50 what's supreme for Polonius (3,4,5,3).
4. Limbs of the club?
6. A totality found mostly at the end of 2 down (2,3).
10. Such a shire is one in 505.
12. Jill and Dee, though no Amazons, are quivered.
14. Bastions? T'ain't us, especially in proofs.
52. See 99 across, and mix such fishes.
54. We French encounter the Greek mind.
80. An oaf on shipboard? No, but these may give him resting places.
86. Take 16 in Paris.
124. In short, it's no good after—you must insert one plant into another, now.
127. What I require is to be found in fine education, naturally.
129. Animals found with arms in a ramshackle building.
132. Rye Dell is not as young as it used to be.
156. Find out what 124 across with 50 is all about.
160. Hail and farewell in Honolulu.

©1962 by the Reporter Magazine Company

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Edited and with an Introduction by Ernest K. Lindley. The Secretary of State analyzes the nature of the world struggle and deals specifically with goals and strategy in many critical areas. A revelation of the personality and thinking of the man responsible for the conduct of U. S. foreign policy. Hardbound $4.95; Paperback $2.45

Beacon Press, 25 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

THE IRON CURTAIN

By Harry and Bonaro Overstreet

"A masterful job of dissecting Soviet strategy." – Chicago Tribune

WHERE FREEDOM'S OFFENSIVE BEGINS

$4.50 • NORTON

Most vital edition yet—

UN YEAR BOOK 1961

Yearbook of the United Nations 1961. The new edition of the UN's unique annual record of its own activities and those of its specialized agencies for 1961. Coverage ranges from disarmament to the Dag Hammarskjold investigation.

$16.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS

STUDENT TRAVEL
STUDENTS CAN AFFORD!
Europe & USSR • Israel
Greece • Turkey • Spain
35-60 Land Days. From $660 (including transportation)

Write: U. S. NATIONAL STUDENT ASSOCIATION
EDUCATIONAL TRAVEL INC.
Dept. TR, 20 West 33th Street,
N. Y. 18, N. Y. OXford 5-5070

(French repertoire has a hard time holding the stage in any case), the choral and concerted works may decline in favor (though at present several of them are solidly ensconced), but it is inconceivable that the songs should disappear. In this realm Poulenc's best efforts stand comparison with the enduring masterpieces of Schubert and Schumann, Mussorgsky and Wolf. A few of his memorable songs have already been mentioned. To these one should add the poignant anti-war *"Bleuet"* (1938), the romantic *"Main dominée par le coeur"* (1947), and the cycle *Le Travail du peintre* (1956), in which Eluard's poetry and Poulenc's settings so vividly reflect the disparate styles of seven contemporary painters.

"He was," wrote *Paris-Match* on the morrow of Poulenc's death, "the most certain representative of French music since the passing of Debussy and Ravel." The question is whether he may not also have been the last certain representative of French music. Among the Messrs. Boulez, Barraqué, and the other exemplars of "totally organized" serial music in France, one does not detect anyone carrying on the tradition of clarity, moderation, and lyric charm that stretches in an almost unbroken line from François Couperin to Francis Poulenc.

"The only hope of immortality," Poulenc once said, "is to be authentic. The worst thing is to want to be à la mode if that mode goes against the grain. . . . To write what seems good to me, at the moment when I have the desire, such is my motto as a composer." We can be grateful that in a world of conflicting modes and fancies, Poulenc did not depart from his principles.

The Aerialists

Blade-thin bodies scissor space; precision
inches up the quivering cobweb wire,
steel nerves pirouette on a pin;
but we're not steel, and so we squeal, perspire.
Death spreads an abyss beneath us all;
our clumsy hands clap loudly lest we fall.

Now clowns catch us in cunning laughter.
X marks the spotlit aerie where they stare
down, teetering, crawling on all fours after,
bicycling backward along the air.
Such bliss is painted upon their faces;
like children pratfalling overhead,
they make nursery floors of high places.
Almost, almost we lose our dread.
Then clowns strip. Sleek on a glittering thread,
their grace bows, riding our stunned applause;
and there's no net below. There never was.

—Nancy Price

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As VARIED as your many interests . . .

Columbia Paperbacks

'hilosophy and Religion

ATURE AND HISTORICAL KPERIENCE

ssays in Naturalism and in the ieory of History

y John Herman Randall, Jr. An mportant addition to one of the major irrents of historical thought."—*American istorical Review.* "Clear and precise and nstantly illuminated by flashes of wit."—*nadian Historical Review* $1.95

IAN'S UNCONQUERABLE MIND

y Gilbert Highet. The distinguished holar and critic brilliantly examines the story, the limits and the promise of the man mind—and the knowledge of which is capable. $1.25

HE COMPARATIVE STUDY F RELIGIONS

y Joachim Wach, edited with an In-oduction by Joseph M. Kitagawa. "A ealth of insight into the nature, beliefs id functions of religious man around the orld."—*The New York Times* $1.75

CIENCE

NTRODUCTION TO SPACE

y Lee A. DuBridge. "By far the most nowledgeable and balanced statement hich has yet appeared on the problems nd realities of . . . the space age."—*Scien-fic American* $1.45

HE ATOMS WITHIN US

y Ernest Borek. The winner of the homas Alva Edison Award for the best cience book for youth. Relates the history f biochemical research, its methods and iscoveries, and details the latest informa-ion on viruses, cancer and DNA. $1.95

HE DREAMS OF REASON: cience and Utopias

y René Dubos. "Everyone who reads Dr. Dubos' presentation of how scientists work, nd the kind of motivation and concern which dominate their lives, will gain an insight into the nature of our times in relation to science that is, alas, all too rare." —I. B. COHEN, *The N. Y. Times Book Review* $1.75

LITERATURE

A HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE

By Moses Hadas. All-inclusive in its scope and unique in its insights, this comprehensive guide to the enjoyment of Greek literature includes: Homer; Sappho; Pindar; Aeschylus; Sophocles; Euripides; Aristophanes; Menander; Plato; Aristotle; Lysias; Isocrates; Demosthenes; Herodotus; Thucydides; Xenophon; Plutarch and Lucian. $1.95

MARK TWAIN'S LETTERS TO MARY

Edited with commentary by Lewis Leary. A collection of letters to Mary Benjamin Rogers. "At once amusing and pathetic, the letters reveal a lonely and dejected old man capable nonetheless of poking fun at his own despair in still another attempt to recapture youth. Leary provides excellent commentary . . ."—*Modern Fiction Studies* $1.65

THE ECCENTRIC DESIGN: Form in the Classic American Novel

By Marius Bewley. "A lucid analysis of the touchy, difficult, and usually ill-defined theme of the 'American experience'. . . Mr. Bewley's innumerable discoveries and his stringent critical tact dominate the book and make for its originality and importance." A. ALVAREZ, *New Statesman* $1.95

Politics, Economics and Sociology

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS IN THE ATOMIC AGE

By John R. Herz. A government specialist examines the two great poles of power and the impact of atomic weapons on the historic role of war. "One of the two or three most distinguished books on international politics."—*American Political Science Review* $1.95

PLAINVILLE, U.S.A.

By James West. An original and revealing analysis of daily life in a "backward" community which shows how an isolated farming society reacts to "modern" influences. $1.55

EUROPE AT SIXES AND SEVENS: The Common Market, the Free Trade Association, and the United States

By Emile Benoit. This detailed analysis is "a most provocative book . . . distinguished for it imagination, boldness, and clear-eyed view of the facts."—LEONARD SILK, *Business Week* $1.95

Journalism

EDITING THE SMALL MAGAZINE

By Rowena Ferguson. For students of journalism and all who work with house organs, journals of organizations, and scholarly publications. "The total purview of magazine production . . . parallels the actual process which an editor follows from month to month."—*Quill and Scroll* $1.95

HEADLINES AND DEADLINES: A Manual for Copy Editors

By Robert E. Garst and Theodore M. Bernstein. The authors "give the art of copy editing the first thorough, comprehensive treatment which this reviewer has seen." —*The N. Y. Times Book Review.* "A real find . . . for the journalism student or anyone involved in copy editing."—*Publishers' Weekly* $1.75

Art

FOUR STEPS TOWARD MODERN ART

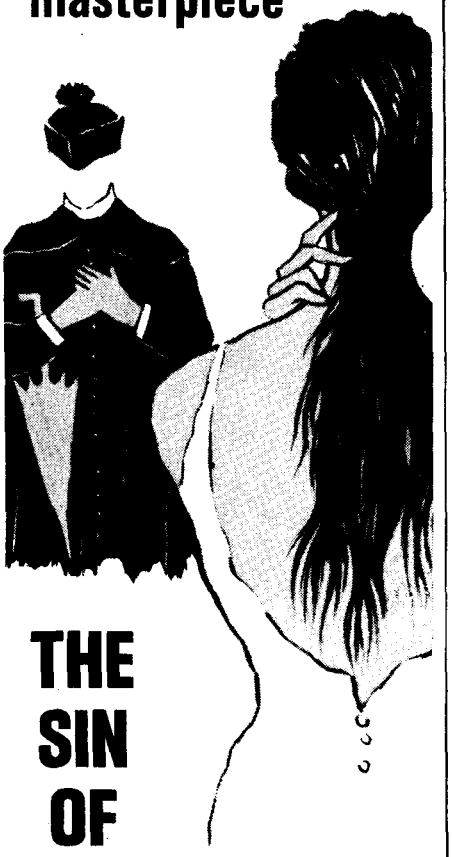
By Lionello Venturi. An illustrated survey from the 16th to the 20th century focusing on Giorgione, Caravaggio, Manet and Cézanne. "A happy combination of esthetics, art history, and . . . analysis."—*Fine Arts* $1.45

Write for your complete paperback catalog to:

Columbia University Press 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

They're calling this powerful novel of a priest's dilemma and a young girl's seduction "a masterpiece"



THE SIN OF FATHER AMARO

by Eça de Queiroz

"A giant plumcake, sustaining and enduring... richer than Trollope and almost as fruity as Stendhal.... A masterpiece."—*The Spectator*

"A classic of Portuguese literature and one of the finest European novels of the 19th century.... Biting and original... a powerful novel of protest."
—*Saturday Review Syndicate*

"Make way for a master.... Blazing a liberal trail through huge hypocrisies, the mood and scope of the story crackle like a slowburning fire into every corner of the mind, purifyingly."
—*London Times*

ST MARTIN'S · $5.95

BOOKS

A Touching Tale Of Lost Illusions

JOHN P. ROCHE

THE ORDEAL OF POWER: A POLITICAL MEMOIR OF THE EISENHOWER YEARS, by Emmet John Hughes. *Atheneum. $5.95.*

This is a curious book. It is not in fact a *political* memoir of the Eisenhower years, but rather an existential critique of how Ike let Emmet Hughes down. Essentially identifying autobiography with political theory, Hughes has set out what might be described as a semi-*mea culpa*. But still the point remains that Ike, not Hughes, was responsible for the disenchantment—a proposition logically on all fours with blaming the bartender for an alcoholic nightmare.

The Eisenhower myth is a fascinating topic for extended exploration. For some strange reason this extremely decent, unpretentious Kansan became the center of a series of exercises in political witchcraft. Beginning in 1948, when some of my best friends went into a trance and decided that Ike could save American liberalism, ranging through 1952—of which more subsequently—to 1956, when a whole troupe of "Eisenhower Marxists" sprang up dedicated to the thesis that Ike was the "peace candidate," Dwight D. Eisenhower was the repository of the dialectical hopes of all types of essentially nonpolitical Americans. Curiously, no one in these various configurations ever talked much about Eisenhower's capacities as an individual or as a President—he was cherished for his symbolic value, as an incarnation of some "historic force." Indeed, one of the supporting arguments often appeared to be that he lacked personal ambition or ideological dedication, that he would respond to "history" in a fashion that would be impossible in other men, bound by selfish or fanatical loyalties. Thus in 1948, he was seen as the instrument for beating the Republicans without intruding into the work of the liberal Establishment, and in 1956 as one who could transcend the petty fanaticisms of the Democratic "cold warriors" and reach a *modus vivendi* with Khrushchev.

HUGHES's narrative begins in 1952, and it is to that *annus mirabilis* that we should turn. In that year, with the thunderings of McCarthy filling the air, the notion suddenly got loose in the land that the cure for Republican "irresponsibility" was the election of a Republican President and Congress. It was not a contest between Dwight D. Eisenhower and Adlai Stevenson, but rather a stand at Armageddon for the "two party system." Although no sane man has ever argued that the cure for bank robbery is to install the robbers as bank presidents, Walter Lippmann and other solemn pundits announced that precisely this principle should govern the electorate's decision in 1952. Those of us who argued (with admitted partisan bias) that the best cure for political irresponsibility was a good beating were disdained as *naïfs*. When I, for example, noted that in Uruguay the Blanco opposition had been out of office for ninety-five years with remarkable therapeutic results, I was informed that democracy in America hung in the balance—that another Democratic victory would drive the Republicans to *real* extremism. When we inquired diffidently if McCarthy defeated in Wisconsin would not be preferable to McCarthy as chairman of the Senate Governmental Operations Committee, we were chastized for insufficient dialectical sophistication.

Now I am prepared to argue (and have argued at length elsewhere) that the "two-party system" in American politics is a state and local rather than a national phenomenon

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PANTHEON

outstanding fiction from four corners of the world

FROM INDIA

Raja Rao reveals, more deeply than most writers are able to suggest in their lifetime, the meaning of love...

. . . in this story of the marriage between a young Brahmin and a Frenchwoman. It describes the full implications of the meeting between East and West on the most intimate plane.
"Packed with real magic of poetry . . . a work by which an age can measure itself."—LAWRENCE DURRELL
"It defies comparison . . . almost defies description. It is as if the wisdom of the Sanskrit had been done into storybook form . . . The writing is utterly beautiful."
—LONDON TIMES
$5.95

The Serpent and the Rope

by Raja Rao

FROM ITALY

SO IT GOES

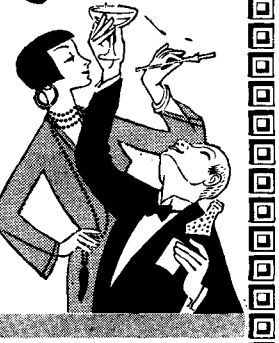
By GIUSEPPE CASSIERI

Translated by Raymond Rosenthal
A hilarious antidote to overdoses of neo-realism. A novel, set in Rome today, about a desperate young bureaucrat who is beginning to lose his hair. "So witty, so humorous and so well written that it could not fail to make even a chronic dyspeptic laugh."
—KING FEATURES SYNDICATE
$4.50

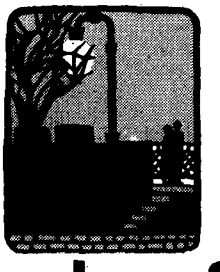
FROM RUMANIA

The Prodigals

By PETRU DUMITRIU



Translated by Norman Denny
Encompassing the years from 1915 to 1944, the author of *Family Jewels* continues his savage, witty portrait of Bucharest aristocrats whose lives portend, with vivid clarity, the dissolution of an entire class and the end of an era. $4.95



FROM FRANCE

A casual anti-Semitic remark launches this half poker-faced satire, half poetic morality tale that has the earnestly serious, outrageously lunatic quality of a Jacques Tati film. $4.50

THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERD

By LUCETTE FINAS

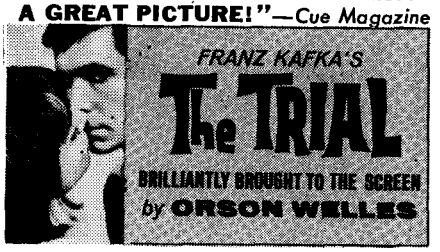
Translated by Ralph Manheim

Don't miss **THE TIN DRUM** *the sensational new novel by* **Günter Grass**

NOW AT YOUR BOOKSTORE
PANTHEON

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"AMONG THE FINEST IN YEARS! A GREAT PICTURE!"—*Cue Magazine*



NOW AT 2 THEATRES
CONTINUOUS PERFORMANCES

GUILD 50th
33 W. 50th ST.
AT ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
PL 7-2406-7

THE NEW
RKO 23rd ST. Theatre
NEAR 8TH AVENUE
AL 5-7050

ASTOR PRODUCTIONS Presents **ANTHONY PERKINS** in **THE TRIAL** A Film By **ORSON WELLES**
Based on the novel by FRANZ KAFKA with JEANNE MOREAU • ELSA MARTINELLI • SUZANNE FLON
MADELEINE ROBINSON • AKIM TAMIROFF and ROMY SCHNEIDER with ORSON WELLES
Produced by ALEXANDRE SALKIND

1918
THE LAST ACT

By BARRIE PITT. "A compassionate, judicious history of the last year of the First World War . . . his battle reports are as vivid as any novelist's, and his understanding of the whole scene . . . is nearly without a parallel." — **New Yorker.** Illus. $5.95 • **NORTON**

"I AM closely watching developments in Borneo with the view of devising some formulation which might help ease the tensions" — U Thant . . . *We have your letter, sir. We know/ Your formula for Borneo/ Will indicate a neutral view . . ./ But don't call us, please. We'll call you./ So just relax. Don't pack. Sit tight./ Don't talk to anyone. Don't write./ You'll be the first official who / Receives our call . . . but we'll call you.*

For the current issue of NATIONAL REVIEW send 25¢ to Dept. P-1 150 E. 35 St., New York 16, N.Y.

THE BRAND NEW PETIT LAROUSSE 1962

The latest edition of the world-famous Petit Larousse—hard cover, 1814 pages, 70,000 articles, 5130 illustrations—can be yours now for only $1.00 with membership in The French Book Guild. As a member, you'll be offered the newest French books each month—at *amazingly low cost.* Mail coupon too

FOR ONLY $1

FRENCH BOOK GUILD, 1860 B'way, N. Y. 23, N. Y.
Please send me information regarding membership in The French Book Guild.
Name_____
Address_____
City_____ Zone____ State____ R-3

(and President Kennedy's current travail on the Hill can be adduced in evidence), but what is important here was Emmet Hughes's conviction that a victory for Eisenhower could restore two-partyism to its pristine grandeur. Ike, he believed, would rebuild the Republican Party and bring it into the twentieth century. In harsher moments a decade ago, I was inclined to think that this two-party hypothesis served many as a convenient rationalization for not supporting Adlai Stevenson, who they admitted was the "better man" but not the better incarnation. However, the human capacity for autohypnosis is almost inconceivable, so let us draw the blinds quietly on this argument, with the parting observation that given the structure of political power in the United States, no President, whatever his genius, can organize his party from the top. What precisely can John F. Kennedy do to Otto Passman? to Harry Byrd? to John Stennis? or, *a fortiori,* to James Eastland?

EISENHOWER disappointed Hughes by his lack of leadership in this and other areas of policy. And it is true that Ike did not even put up a fight against his Congressional magnates. While a President cannot "build" his party like a child piling up blocks, he can develop an independent constituency of his own and bring great pressure on the legislature. Kennedy certainly believes in this, although his actions to date suggest that he still cherishes the illusion that he can somehow hypnotize the barons on the Hill into jumping through the hoop. (I suspect that 1964 will see a radical shift in this "inside" policy *vis-à-vis* Congress: the arrival of a year divisible by 4 has a traumatic effect on Presidents.) Yet, aside from his reading of the speeches he wrote for candidate Eisenhower, did Hughes have any reason to believe that Ike would turn out to be the leader of his dreams?

In other words, did Eisenhower ever change? If he did, then perhaps Hughes has a case. If not, then it really is unfair to hold the President responsible for the eccentric illusions he created in the minds of the impressionable. To put it differently, was there anything in his record that would indicate that Dwight D. Eisenhower would confront the crises of the 1950's with imagination and decisiveness? Again making it clear that my political judgment carries with it no slurs on his personal character, I submit that the evidence indicated the opposite. Never a Great Captain—as Douglas MacArthur, for example, unquestionably was—Eisenhower rode George Marshall's coattails to the top of the military pyramid. In essence, he was a military diplomat who could be counted upon (by techniques that became famous, and exasperating to Emmet Hughes in the President) to blur issues and prevent stark confrontations from occurring. His strategy in Europe as it emerged in the disputes with the British was based on a simple West Point maxim: Grant beat Lee. Later as Chief of Staff, when he was in the slot formerly occupied by the quietly decisive Marshall, he was indecisive, harried, and probably profoundly unhappy. Nasty problems (such as the desegregation of the armed forces) which demanded a confrontation with abstractions simply would not go away, no matter how studiously they were ignored or pigeonholed. Safely reinstalled as SACEUR in the familiar atmosphere of military diplomacy—and with the hard, ruthless mind of Dean Acheson handling the abstractions—he flourished again. To make a long story short, Eisenhower was always allergic to decisions: he was finely equipped to be the adjutant to a decisive chief. Unfortunately, this is more a characterological than an intellectual matter: one cannot take a training course on How to Make Final Decisions.

IT MAY SEEM UNFAIR to rub salt on Emmet Hughes's already flagellated back, and it would be if these observations were founded on the wisdom of hindsight. But the hard fact is that a number of us said this in 1952—Sam Rayburn probably gave it the classic formulation, "Good man, wrong job"—and while we welcome Hughes to the ranks and cheerfully absolve him, we can hardly be expected to wipe the slate clean. History, after all, did not start the day he took up his pen to write *The Ordeal of Power.*

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A City upon a Hill

JOHN WILLIAM WARD

A NATION SO CONCEIVED: REFLECTIONS ON THE HISTORY OF AMERICA FROM ITS EARLY VISIONS TO ITS PRESENT POWER, by Reinhold Niebuhr and Alan Heimert. *Scribner. $3.50.*

In 1630, John Winthrop, still at sea on the way to America, took the time to catechize the Puritans on the high moral seriousness of their venture: "We must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill, the eyes of all people are upon us." The style has persisted in America down to such different sons as John Foster Dulles and John Fitzgerald Kennedy. So has Winthrop's fear. Not yet landed in the New World, he knew already there lay ahead not just the promise of a new start in the moral history of the world but also the seductions of success and power: "If our hearts shall turn away so that we . . . shall be seduced and worship . . . our pleasures and profits, and serve them . . . we shall surely perish out of the good Land."

Even before the experiment in making the good society had begun, there also began the literature of self-castigation, the guilt that has always lurked below the surface of the American's self-congratulation and self-esteem. Europeans have always been bemused that a nation so blatantly committed to the material should always insist on defining itself in terms of the ideal; we Americans have simply been troubled. Power has never been enough. What Max Weber once said of individual leaders holds true for nations: the fortunate are not satisfied simply with being fortunate; they must know they have a right to their good fortune. Good fortune wants to be "legitimate" fortune.

America's claim to legitimacy has always depended from the notion that it has a Messianic mission to redeem the world, to convert it to the American way of life, as we say. For three hundred years we were able to believe we could do it, as Winthrop had it, simply by our shining example. But the twentieth century changed all that, and the shock of change and the troubled awareness that our good fortune may simply have no relevance to the world we now live in have led to Reinhold Niebuhr's and Alan Heimert's compact book, *A Nation So Conceived.*

THE AUTHORS gather their reflections around three major themes: the search for a cultural unity that would transcend sectional differences and ethnic heterogeneity; the difficulty of adapting the ideals and institutions of an open and largely agrarian society to the demands of a collective and industrial order; the transition from national pride to the sobering responsibilities of world power. Each of the three themes is so grand and the book is so brief that two faults are nearly inescapable. When something is being said, sentences become so concise that one must wonder what those who are not specialists on the subject might make of them: "Walter Rauschenbusch would carry on the perfectionism of American sectarianism, and would combine a rediscovered Anabaptist radicalism with the idea of linear progress into a theology which challenged the traditional emphases of American Protestantism . . ."

The opposite danger is to provide a conclusion by saying nothing, or not very much; thus, religious communities "provide an integral community in the cold technical togetherness of an urban culture—a community in which the individual may come into his own in all the

New, from OXFORD

C. WRIGHT MILLS
Power, Politics, and People

Many of Mills's most important statements about modern culture and society appeared in magazines and journals not readily available to the large audience interested in his ideas. This new book collects in one volume forty-one of those essays, which range in time from the early 1940's to the early 1960's. Taken together, they are the clearest expression of Mills's own original views of our world. 672 pages. $8.50

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY
A History of Russia

In this comprehensive work an expert traces the country's history from the very beginning — from "Russia before the Russians" — up to 1962. On the basis of his findings he concludes that "profound alterations in the very foundations of the Soviet system appear likely in the not-too-distant future." 32 pages of halftone illustrations, 30 maps in line, four-color endpaper map. 720 pages. $10.50

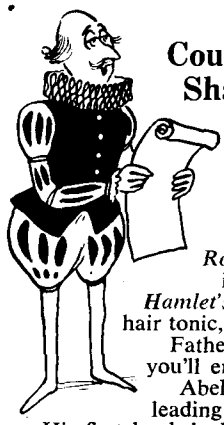
VIVIAN MERCIER
The Irish Comic Tradition

"This survey of the comic tradition in Gaelic literature from the seventh century onwards is the first of its kind, and is intended for the curious reader rather than the specialist. . . . Mercier's suggestion that comedy may have preceded tragedy is novel and daring. Certainly one of the earliest sagas, *The Intoxication of the Ulsterman,* is an hilarious extravaganza." — *The Times Literary Supplement.* 250 pages. $6.75

At all bookstores

Oxford University Press, N. Y. 16

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Could Shakespeare make it on Madison Avenue?

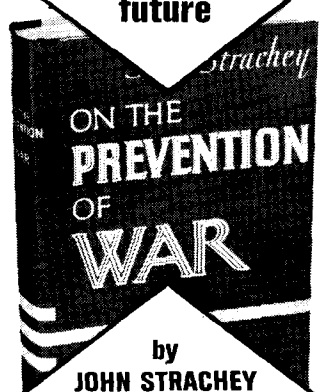
If you can imagine *Romeo and Juliet* cast in a TV soap opera, *Hamlet's* monologues selling hair tonic, or *King Lear* called Father of the Bride, then you'll enjoy the opinions of Abel Quezada, Mexico's leading editorial cartoonist. His first book in English dealing with matters both slight and serious is an exhilarating collection of contemporary satirical cartoons that are just plain fun! $3.95

THE BEST OF IMPOSSIBLE WORLDS

by Abel Quezada

Buy it from your bookseller, or order from the publisher. Write to Dept. 341,
PRENTICE-HALL, INC.
Englewood Cliffs, N. J.
Publisher will pay postage if payment is enclosed.

A practical, hopeful book about your future



by JOHN STRACHEY

"An incomparable guide through the labyrinth of American and British writings on deterrence."
—Listener

"A stimulating and important book....What distinguishes Strachey's analysis is the judicious fashion in which he adjudicates the disagreement of experts."
—The Sunday Times

ST MARTIN'S • $5.95

beauty and pathos of his incongruous individuality, in which the incongruity of his majesty and brevity is understood, and in which his sense of guilt in the hard moral choices in the complexities of life is assuaged."

Mr. Niebuhr and Mr. Heimert set themselves the task of reflecting on the vicissitudes of history that have gone into the shaping of the American character in order to confront our future destiny. But the confrontation never takes place: "Fortunately, we are not called upon to confront present problems in an assignment limited to an analysis of the course of past history which has formed the character of the nation—a character which is constantly challenged, as all life in history is, to use resources accumulated in the past for solving new problems of the present and the future."

So the assignment is not American history. It is life itself; and that, alas, is both ambiguous and a tall order for so brief an exercise. *A Nation So Conceived* falls into that honorable American tradition of the jeremiad: we have sinned, and how are we to be saved? Depending on whose hands pick it up, the result is likely to be apathy or despair.

A Land Beyond Help?

DENIS WARNER

INDONESIAN COMMUNISM: A HISTORY, by Arnold C. Brackman. *Praeger. $6.50.*

"Those poor Russians!" said Sutan Sjahrir when the first significant deliveries of Soviet military equipment arrived in Indonesia twenty months ago. "They could spend ten per cent of their gross national product here for the next ten years and still not be sure of the result."

Sjahrir, a right-wing Socialist with a profound appreciation of democracy and personal liberty, emerged during the struggle for independence between 1945 and 1949 as Indonesia's ablest and most responsible political leader. A measure of Indonesia's current irresponsibility is that Sjahrir and others like him are now involuntary guests in Sukarno's political prisons. "They have no place in our society," says Dr. Subandrio, now foreign minister and Sukarno's choice as his heir. With this remark Sjahrir would agree. Sukarno's "guided democracy" is the negation of everything Sjahrir believes in. Built on a framework of meaningless slogans, it has served primarily as a platform for Sukarno's own demagogy. His régime, Mr. Brackman finds, has been corrupt, demoralized, and inept. Such goals as the acquisition of West New Guinea's worthless real estate have been achieved only "at the cost of wrecking the economy, snuffing out representative government, trampling on civil liberties, mortgaging Indonesia's future to Soviet arms shipments, and providing the Communist Party with a rare opportunity to develop a base of mass power in Indonesia."

IN A DECADE the Indonesian Communist Party has increased its membership from fewer than eight thousand to two million. What are its chances of coming to power and turning Indonesia into the Cuba of Southeast Asia? As the Indonesian Communists see it, the chances are very good. In Mr. Brackman's words, they were lifted to "ectastic heights" by Cuba. Time, they are now sure, is on their side, and the process that has led to the party's spectacular growth will also lead to power. As the biggest and best-organized political party in Indonesia, with every island of consequence honeycombed with cells and with front organizations controlling another ten million, including four million peasants, their chances might indeed seem very good. But Mr. Brackman is a qualified optimist of the Sjahrir school. In the chaos and the crumbling of "guided democracy" that will follow Sukarno's death, either naturally or by assassination, he believes the army, not the Communists, will move into the void and probably turn either to the Sultan of Jogjakarta or to former Vice-President Mohammad Hatta, in either case with Sjahrir quietly in the background, to restore republican unity and hope to the disillusioned Indonesian people.

Yet with General A. H. Nasution, the defense minister, and General

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Jani, the army chief of staff, now out-Sukarnoing Sukarno in the dispute with Malaya over Malaysia and even threatening a direct military invasion of the British Borneo territories, Mr. Brackman and all other serious students of Indonesia must be troubled by the growing irresponsibility of the army leadership. Given their Russian weapons, the military now seem all too anxious to get on with the job—any job. Sukarno has not given up the front running when it comes to expansionism; but jogging at his heels are that ill-matched pair, Nasution and Subandrio, and, of course, the Communist leader Aidit. A good many western hopes, including Mr. Brackman's, have been shaken by the new ambitious Nasution, who only a year ago dismissed Malaysia as of no concern to Indonesia but is now prepared to go to war to destroy it.

This does not detract from the value of Mr. Brackman's book, which is easily the most important on Indonesia since George McTurnan Kahin's *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia* (1952). Communism in any of its forms presents the historical author with the most difficult of tasks, inasmuch as fact and what the Communists claim to be fact rarely bear any relation to each other. Over a period of many years, however, Mr. Brackman has sifted and screened his material, and the result is an admirable account not merely of the rise of the Indonesian Communist Party but also of the far from happy history of Indonesia through independence to the present day.

Mistaken western policies and Sukarno's ambitions both contributed to the Communist advance. But Sukarno has no intention of putting the Communists into power—though he may do so by folly or miscalculation, neither of which Mr. Brackman feels can be completely ruled out. As the self-styled "Great Leader of Our Revolution," he wants no competitors for the revolutionary leadership. The perpetual dilemma for the Communists is whether to continue to identify themselves with Sukarno's disastrous internal policies or to move into revolutionary opposition. By choosing the first course they will some day bring upon themselves the people's inevitable wrath

Franz Kafka

PARABLE AND PARADOX

By HEINZ POLITZER

Professor of German, University of California, Berkeley

"IN the most trenchant and lucid study of Kafka yet written, Poet and German Scholar Heinz Politzer conducts a tireless search into Kafka's style and imagery for clues that tie the emptiness of the heart to the disfigurement of the world outside.

"Politzer . . . is perceptive in ferreting out the 'perplexing parables' of Kafka's style. Driven by visions of horror and forebodings of doom, Kafka's great obsession was man's alienation from himself, from other men, from the absolute."—*Time* *397 pages, illus.,* $6.50

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS

124 ROBERTS PLACE, ITHACA, NEW YORK

Solution to

THE REPORTER

Puzzle # 74

Acrostician—

EVERETT DIRKSEN

	C	L	E	T		S		A	V	
O	A	K	A	P	P	L	E		E	S	T	R	A	Y
	P		N		I		A		X		O		S	
C	O	N	D	U	C	T	S		T	O	M	A	T	O
	T		A			W			O			S		E
R	E	P	U	B	L	I	C	A	N		S	T	U	D
E		A		R		N		U		K		A		E
E	A	R	M	A	R	K		S	T	I	R	R	U	P
L		T		T		L		T		L		T		U
I	B	I	S		R	E	L	E	N	T	L	E	S	S
N		A			E			R			E		T	
G	U	L	L	E	D		D	E	G	R	A	D	E	D
	P		A		E		O		O		D		P	
H	O	M	I	N	Y		L	O	O	S	E	N	U	T
	N		C		E		E		D		R		P	

The Fire Next Time James Baldwin

James Baldwin's new bestseller is lighting a fire under America—

"Out of his own pain and despair and hope, Mr. Baldwin has pictured white America through the eyes of a Negro . . . He has sounded a warning and a hope."
— *N. Y. Times*

3rd big printing

$3.50 at your bookstore

THE DIAL PRESS

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As we were:
the crucial decade
of the Thirties

Edwin P. Hoyt
THE TEMPERING YEARS

From the crash of '29 to the invasion of Poland ten years later, this vivid account portrays the American experience in terms of key individuals: Hoover, FDR, Charlie Chaplin, Harry Hopkins, Charles Evans Hughes, Joe Louis, Huey Long—to name a few. A graphic, thoroughly authenticated record that blends nostalgia and revelation.
Photographs $6.95

SCRIBNERS

A leading Christian thinker dissects Marxism

This lucid, objective book illuminates all the basic Marxist tenets, and their conflicts with Christian belief. It also casts a brilliant light on Communism's own internal conflicts, which have led to the world-shaking Russo-Chinese schism. *A selection of the Catholic Book Club.* $4.95

FROM KARL MARX TO MAO TSE-TUNG
A Systematic Survey of Marxism-Leninism
By HENRI CHAMBRE, *The Sorbonne, Paris* • Preface by Thurston N. Davis

Will all of Latin America go the way of Cuba?

Here is a timely analysis that "reveals deep sensitivity to the realities of Latin America . . . Mr. McEoin applauds the Alliance for Progress, but he puts his finger on its weaknesses."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune.* $4.50

LATIN AMERICA
The Eleventh Hour—By GARY McEOIN

Now at your bookstore **P. J. KENEDY & SONS**

and revulsion; by adopting the latter they would risk destruction, for though the Communists have the numbers, the army still has the guns. The Communist following is concentrated among the Javanese, especially in the central Java area and, to a lesser extent, in east Java and around Djakarta and the south and east coasts of Sumatra. Even if a Communist coup in overpopulated Java were possible, it could be achieved now only at the cost of anti-Communist uprisings throughout the other islands. By following either course, therefore, the Communists stand to lose.

What should the West do? Mr. Brackman's formula will surprise some Americans and please others. The worst thing we can do now, he believes, is to shore up the régime. We have blundered enough, and we shall compound our blunders if we help Sukarno recover from his self-inflicted economic wounds. "The West," says Mr. Brackman, "should continue to disengage. Indonesia's internal problems can only be solved by Indonesians, and only from within, not without." «»

One Man's Treasures

SAREL EIMERL

THE FAMILIAR FACES, by David Garnett. *Harcourt, Brace & World. $5.75.*

This third volume of David Garnett's memoirs, like its predecessors (*The Golden Echo* and *The Flowers of the Forest*), illustrates to perfection the difficulties inherent in the autobiographical form. Mr. Garnett is not short of material. His father, Edward, was one of England's most influential publishers' readers, and it was his mother, Constance, who first translated many of the works of Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, and Turgenev into English. As a child, David was acquainted with, among other notable persons, Conrad, Galsworthy, and Wells, and several Russian revolutionaries. In his twenties, he became a central figure in the Bloomsbury group. Lytton Strachey, Virginia Woolf, E. M. Forster, and John Maynard Keynes were among his closest friends. He wrote two best sellers—*Lady into Fox* and *Aspects of Love*. For seven years he was literary editor of the *New Statesman*, and he helped to found two publishing houses. He also managed to be extremely active physically, hunting and fishing, and flying his own airplane.

With so much activity and so many people to draw on, Garnett's autobiography could hardly be dull, and it isn't. It is likely to make most readers quiver with envy, for Garnett enjoyed the best of several delightful worlds. The Bloomsbury group was a lively one. There is, for example, an excellent story about the painter Duncan Grant, a notorious practical joker. Accosted by a London streetwalker whom he was unable to shake off, Grant scuttled onto a bus, only to find the lady following him. "Testing your virtue," she explained. It was one of his cousins, a disguised and spritely Strachey, getting revenge.

Such a story and others indicate the undergraduate quality many of the upper-class English retain in later life. But the Bloomsbury group also retained undergraduate enthusiasm and energy. One day Garnett might be hobnobbing with some of the most cultivated minds in England, eagerly debating politics, or the French unanimists, or the ballet; the next, he might be walking over the moors, fishing with T. H. White, or performing at a party in a playlet written by Virginia Woolf. He went on a trip by motor launch with T. E. Lawrence, and watched D. H. Lawrence imitate himself quarreling with Frieda, and Keynes dancing a *pas de deux* with his ballerina wife. Who would not like to have done the same? Or to have listened to "Goldie" (Lowes) Dickinson and Bertie Russell "searching for truth," or Aldous Huxley talking "with extraordinary charm and detachment about sexual tastes during the last thousand years"?

But the anecdotes that make Garnett's autobiography worth reading also indicate its shortcomings, for, like all material whose interest lies primarily in the names, they are

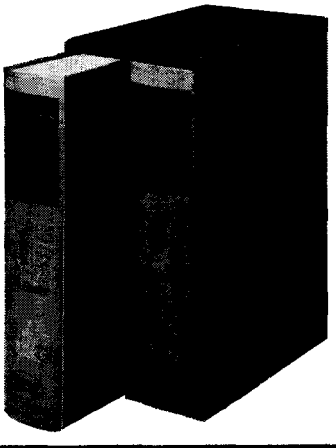
PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

essentially the stuff of gossip columns. They induce the kind of dazed feeling one sometimes gets at a huge cocktail party: that there are too many unfamiliar and undistinguished people present, dropping too many names and being unbearably jolly. After a while, one longs for weightier material. This is where Garnett's autobiography begins to throw light on the difficulties of the form, especially when essayed by a man of letters. A trial lawyer has dramatic cases with which to hold his reader's attention; a politician, affairs of state. But a writer's autobiography, unless handled by a master who is able, like Henry Adams, to thread a unifying theme through his memories, inevitably degenerates into a series of random recollections. A character drifts in, one's interest is mildly aroused, and then he drifts out again, never to be heard of more. Any competent novelist knows that simply to record events in the haphazard way they actually take place is not enough to grip a reader's attention. A form must be imposed, relationships developed, and so on. Reality, like most meat, must be cooked to make it palatable. But the autobiographer is restricted to the facts, and unless he is a Rousseau, he normally restricts himself to the superficial ones. A reluctance to expose himself is likely to keep him from the intimate self-revelation he would willingly risk in fictional form; and a sense of delicacy is equally likely to keep him, as it keeps Garnett, from delving into the kind of detail about his friends (such as how Virginia Woolf got along with her husband) that might really fascinate the reader.

But the most insidious danger to the autobiographer (as contrasted with the biographer) is that personal involvement almost always distorts his judgment, making him exaggerate the intrinsic values of his material. In the pleasure of reliving the past, he is likely to forget that he must earn the reader's interest. Garnett can write like an educated aunt discussing a favorite nephew: "Owing to his quite exceptional intellect, Lionel is I think a perfectly happy man. Yet he has less aesthetic sensibility than any of his brothers." The reader doesn't know Lionel or his brothers, and doesn't give a damn. Garnett can also write: "Lytton [Strachey], if he had lived, would have spoken for mankind on Auschwitz, Hiroshima . . . with a clarity and force with which the political leaders of the world would have had to reckon. He could not have been neglected as Russell and Forster are." This is drivel; it is a striking illustration of how even the most intelligent people can fantastically inflate the significance of their acquaintances. Garnett overvalues his friends because he loved them, just as he obviously treasures the memory of their jokes and conversation and personalities because they recall the joys of his youth. Such recollections may be enchanting to the surviving members of his circle; they are, as it were, sitting around the table. But the rest of us are outside. And peering through the window and watching other people eat isn't much fun.

wayne

A reader's Report is solely for the eyes of a publisher who asks an authority for his opinion about a manuscript. Below is such a Reader's Report. It's exceptional because it appears in print. It's also exceptional because the Reader is the internationally eminent psychoanalyst Dr. Martin Grotjahn*. Dr. Grotjahn's report convinced the publisher to publish. We think you'll see why.



GOETHE

A Psychoanalytic Study

by K. R. Eissler

published February 1963
1586 pages, two volumes, slipcase
$35.00

I read this manuscript as I have read only a few books during my lifetime. I could not lay it down. I read it from cover to cover, day and night, with great fascination.

Though Eissler's orientation and opinions in questions of psychoanalysis have been quite different at times from mine, this manuscript deserves my highest praise.

Kurt Eissler's book is first and foremost a psychoanalytic study of Goethe, the man. It is also a study of Goethe as a representative of his time and as a genius. This does not necessarily mean the study of a German genius, but a *Weltbürger*, a true citizen of the world, a man who mastered the art of living.

As a clinical study of creativity, particularly in its relation to psychosis or insanity, Eissler's *Goethe* can be compared only with Ernest Jones' 3-volume biographical study of Sigmund Freud. Eissler and Jones are models for further study of the great men of history through psychoanalysis. As Eissler's work delves deeply into diversified analytic problems concerning psychiatry, history, anthropology, and existential philosophy, it is a model of psycho-history as demanded by persons such as Harvard's Professor Wilhelm Lange.

Kurt Eissler demonstrates that he is an expert in psychoanalysis and also an expert of the highest order on Goethe's life, times, and works. His well-chosen quotations provide the reader with an excellent introduction to Goethe, his works, his philosophy, his motivation, his artistic creativity, his scientific opinions, and his *"Lebenskunst"*; for it may well be that Goethe's greatest achievement was his mastery of the art of living.

Order from your bookseller or

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry, University of California; former member of the Berlin Psychoanalytic Institute; Senior Consultant to the Veterans Hospital in Los Angeles and Brentwood, California; formerly physician at the University Clinic of Berlin; author of* **Beyond Laughter *and* **Psychoanalysis and the Family Neurosis.**

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS
Detroit 2, Michigan

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STOP SAYING . . . "I CAN'T AFFORD TO TRAVEL"

8 BOOKS THAT GIVE YOU THE FACTS ON HOW YOU CAN TRAVEL TODAY WITHOUT BEING RICH

AROUND THE WORLD BY FREIGHTER

Where and how to travel by freighter —the lower cost way to travel

FOR no more than you'd spend at a resort, you can take a never-to-be-forgotten cruise to Rio or Buenos Aires. Or through the Canal or to the West Indies or to England, France, the Mediterranean, etc.

And what accommodations you get —large rooms with beds (not bunks), probably a private bath, lots of good food, and plenty of relaxation as you speed from port to port.

Travel Routes Around the World names the freighter lines (700 of them, with sailings from practically every port in the world), tells where they go, what they charge, briefly describes accommodations plus life on your freighter, clothes to take, etc.

To stop saying that travel is expensive, get your copy now. Price, $1.

BARGAIN PARADISES OF THE WORLD

West Indies, Mexico, Californias Abroad

This is a book on how to double what your money can buy. For that is what spending a few weeks or months, or even retiring, in the world's Bargain Paradises amounts to.

Throughout this big book you learn where to spend a while in the West Indies, South America, the healthful islands of the South Seas, and the marvelous Balearic Islands where two can live like kings for $50 a week.

You read about cities and towns where it's always spring, about "Californias Abroad," about "Four Modern Shangri-Las," about mountain hideaways, tropical islands as colorful as Tahiti but nearer home, about modern cities where you can live for less, about quiet country lanes and surf-washed coastal resorts.

If you've ever wanted to travel but wondered how you could afford it; if you have a little income but wonder how you'd ever be able to retire on that; if you want a life of luxuries on what you'd get only necessities back home, then you want this book. $1.50.

HOW TO TRAVEL WITHOUT BEING RICH

DO YOU know it costs only $144 to travel all the way to Argentina through colorful Mexico, the Andes, Peru, etc. by bus and rail? Or that there are half a dozen round the world routings for under $1000?

If you know the seldom-advertised ways of reaching foreign countries, you don't need fantastic sums of money in order to travel. This book shows you the lower cost, comfortable ways to practically any part of the world. Here are the ship, rail, bus, airplane, and other routings that save you money and open the world to you.

This is the guide that helps you explore the West Indies like an old time resident who knows all the tricks of how to make one dollar do the work of two. Roam around Mexico, South America, Europe, elsewhere? This is the guide that tells you where and how to go at prices you can really afford. $1.50.

OFF-THE-BEATEN PATH

—these are America's own Bargain Paradises

Where to retire or vacation at what look like prewar prices and no one ever heard of nerves or worries.

Off-the-Beaten Path names the really low cost Florida retirement and vacationing towns, the topnotch values in Texas, the Southwest, California, the South and East, Canada, and a dozen other areas which the crowds have not yet discovered.

—Fabulous places like that undiscovered region where the winters are as warm and sunny as Miami Beach's, yet costs can be 2/3rds less. Or that island that looks like Hawaii yet is 2000 miles nearer. Or France's only remaining outpost in this part of the world . . . or a village more Scottish than Scotland . . . or resort villages without crowds or high prices . . . or island paradises aplenty in the U.S. or Canada . . . or areas with almost a perfect climate. And for good measure you also read about low cost paradises in Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, and Puerto Rico.

A big book, with about 100,000 words and plenty of pictures. Yet it costs only $2.

SPECIAL OFFER: All 4 books above—*Travel Routes Around the World, Bargain Paradises of the World, How to Travel Without Being Rich,* and *Off-the-Beaten Path*—($6 value) for only $4.

FABULOUS MEXICO—WHERE EVERYTHING COSTS LESS

THE land of retirement and vacation bargains, where you can build a modern home for $4500 and an American retirement income looks like a fortune, and your vacation money can buy double or more what it might back home. Norman Ford shows you vacation and retirement values where you can live like a prince on what you might just get along on in the U.S.A. He pinpoints areas that look like the South Seas, others where it's like June all year round, towns where many other Americans have retired; shows where to find modern, flower-bedecked hotels and inns that charge hardly half of what you'd expect to spend in even such a land of vacation and retirement bargains as Mexico. *Plus a big section on where to start your money earning so much more than in the U.S.A.* $1.50.

AMERICA BY CAR

THIS big book is your insurance of seeing all the 4-star sights in whatever corner of the U.S., Canada, or Mexico you drive to. Whether you're visiting New England or California, Florida or the National Parks, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi, the East, the South, the Southwest, the Indian country, etc., it tells you day by day and road by road the scenic way to go and it always directs you to the important sights along the way and in the cities. In Niagara or Los Angeles, Washington or New Orleans, the Black Hills or Montreal, it takes the guesswork out of travel.

America is so big you can easily overlook or forget important sights or make many a wrong turn. So get *America by Car,* the book that makes sure you'll see everything of consequence and always travel right. Only $2.50 for this 170,000 word book (as big as 3 ordinary-sized novels.)

How you can find the "best" hotel and restaurant without paying the highest prices

Today's Best Buys in Travel begins where the average guidebook leaves off. Covering 100 countries, it names the most exceptional values in hotels, restaurants, shopping, sightseeing, transportation, theaters, entertainment and night life throughout the world. Such a Best Buy does not mean spending a lot of money but getting a unique experience.

It names Elizabethan Tudor inns, ivied chateaux, once-royal castles, converted maharajahs' palaces, romantic, flower-bedecked Alpine inns, etc., where you will live graciously on little, receive the finest in regional cuisines, and get the friendly, personal service which is seldom yours at huge, impersonal, expensive hotels. It names the restaurants where you'll dine on the finest national cuisines at one fourth the tabs charged by the gilded tourist eating places. These atmospheric, lower-cost places are the *true* Best Buys.

In this book are over 10,000 Best Buys, even ranging beyond hotels and restaurants to guided tours that cost less than you'd spend to travel on your own, shopping buys, night life meccas, etc. Because these Best Buys are so much less expensive than the usual hotel, restaurant, or other tourist purchase, a single tip can, and probably will, save you four times the price of this book on your very first day abroad.

Today's Best Buys in Travel covers the world, and it costs only $1.50. So send for your copy today.

How to Travel— and get paid for it

THERE'S a job waiting for you somewhere—on a ship, with an airline, in foreign firms, etc. The full story of what job you can fill is in *How to Get a Job That Takes You Traveling.* Whether you're male or female, young or old, whether you want a lifetime of paid traveling or just hanker to roam the world for a short year or two, here are the facts you want, complete with names and addresses and full details about the preparations to make, the customers to observe, the countries to head for. You learn about jobs in travel agencies, in importing and exporting concerns. Here is the story of jobs in the Red Cross and UN organizations, how doctors get jobs on ships, the wonderful travel opportunities if you will teach English overseas and the fabulous opportunities for those who know stenography. To travel and get paid for it, get this book. $1.50.

Mail to HARIAN PUBLICATIONS
130 Spring Street
GREENLAWN (Long Island), N. Y.

I have enclosed $..... (cash, check, or money order). Please send me the books I checked below. YOU WILL REFUND MY MONEY IF I AM NOT SATISFIED.

- ☐ **Travel Routes Around the World** (travel by freighter). **$1.**
- ☐ **Bargain Paradises of the World. $1.50.**
- ☐ **How to Travel Without Being Rich. $1.50.**
- ☐ **Off-the-Beaten Path. $2.**
- ☐ SPECIAL OFFER #1: All 4 books above for $4.
- ☐ **America by Car. $2.50.**
- ☐ **How to Get a Job That Takes You Traveling. $1.50.**
- ☐ **Today's Best Buys in Travel** (hotels, restaurants, etc. worth raving about). **$1.50**
- ☐ **Fabulous Mexico—Where Everything Costs Less. $1.50.**
- ☐ SPECIAL OFFER #2: All 8 books above for $7.50.

Print Name.....

Street Address.....

City & State.....

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWER TO PRESERVE THE PEACE!

"To be prepared for war," said George Washington, "is one of the most effective ways of preserving peace."

Today's counterpart of this philosophy is reflected in the massive shield of missile sites built or under construction in the farthermost reaches of rural America. Many of these, and hundreds of other vital defense installations, are served by America's rural electric systems.

These locally-owned cooperatives and power districts were created by rural people who could not get electric service from established power companies. Today these systems operate 1½-million miles of lines far beyond city limits, serve the growing power needs of 20 million rural people. And capital borrowed from the Rural Electrification Administration to build these lines is being repaid with interest.

Because these lines are there, power is quickly provided for vital installations ranging from launching pads to tracking stations, from lighthouses to Air Force bases.

Rural electric systems are proud to play an important part in safeguarding peace and the future of all Americans.

AMERICA'S RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS *Important* to the strength of America

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hoy y todos los días del 1963, a las CINCO Y MEDIA de la tarde

SI EL TIEMPO NO LO IMPIDE Y CON PERMISO DE SUS AMIGOS

Enjoy a Magnificent Moment of Truth

THE BRAVE BULL

COCKTAIL

Kahlúa 53 Proof

mano a mano:

KAHLÚA

magnifico **coffee liqueur** from sunny Mexico

y

TEQUILA ARANDAS

the true tequila

...Equal Parts, Over The Rocks!

Arandas 80 Proof

¡Once you master EL BRAVO TORO you will dominate the cocktail hour!

Hay muchas otras recipes for intriguing drinks and desserts in the Kahlua y Arandas recipe books...yours for the asking.

Jules Berman & Associates, Inc., 9025 Wilshire Blvd., Beverly Hills, California

PRODUCED 2004 BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED